A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

RISE, UNION, and POWER,

THE

Progreſſions, Separations, and Corruptions,

OF

POETRY and MUSIC.

To which is prefixed,

The CURE of SAUL.

A

SACRED ODE.

Written by Dr. BROWN.

Grata Teſtudo! — Laborum
Dulce Lenimen! Mihi cunque ſalve,
Rite vocanti.

DUBLIN:
Printed by G. FAULKNER, on the *Blind-Quay*.
MDCCLXIII.

Advertiſement.

The Relation which the following Ode and Diſſertation bear to each other, tho' perhaps not apparent at firſt Sight, rendered it neceſſary to publiſh them in this united Manner.

THE CURE OF SAUL.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE ARGUMENT OF THE ODE.

SAUL, *for his Diſobedience to Heaven, is afflicted with the Fiend of* MELANCHOLY, p. 7. DAVID *is ſent for, to cure him by the Power of Muſic*, p. ib. *He comes, attended with a Choir of Shepherds; and as the means, of diſpelling* SAUL's *Deſpair, he ſings the Creation of the World, and the happy eſtate of our firſt Parents in Paradiſe*, 8, 9. SAUL *is moved by the Repreſentation; but expoſtulates with* DAVID, "*why, when others are happy, He ſhould be miſerable,*" p. 9. DAVID, *to convince him that Guilt is the Source of Miſery, ſings the Fall of Man, and his Expulſion from Paradiſe*, 10. *This alarms the Monarch's Pride, and inſtead of reclaiming, provokes him to Reſentment and Rage*, p. 10. DAVID, *ſuperior to his Threats, awakens his Conſcience, and terrifies him, by ſinging the Fate and Puniſhment of Guilt, in the Deſtruction of the rebellious Tribe of* CHO-

RAH *by an Earthquake, and of the guilty World by the general Deluge,* p. 10, 11, SAUL, *ſtruck with Horror, attempts to kill himſelf,* p. 12. *But being prevented by his Friends,* DAVID *ſooths his Anguiſh, by invoking Repentance and divine Mercy to compoſe his Paſſions,* p. 12. SAUL *relents into virtuous Sorrow,* p. 12. *But his Deſpair returning,* DAVID *calls on his attendant Choir to raiſe a more ſublime and affecting Strain,* p. 13. *This hath its Effect; and* SAUL *melts into Tears of Penitence,* ib. DAVID *now comforts him with the Return of the divine Favour,* p. 14. *To baniſh the Remains of Pride, he then ſings his own Happineſs in the humble Station of a Shepherd,* ib. *Still farther to compoſe the Monarch's Griefs, by a Strain of ſoft Muſic he throws him into a gentle Slumber; invoking celeſtial Viſions to tranſport him to the Regions of the Bleſſed, and change his Anguiſh into Joy,* p. 14. *The deſired Effects appear in his Countenance: The Fiend departs: And* SAUL *awakes in perfect Tranquillity,* p. 14. DAVID *then concludes with a Song of Triumph on the Powers of Harmory, and the ſeraphic Hymn that attended her, as the Miniſter of Heaven, on the Creation of the World,* p. 15.

THE

THE CURE OF SAUL.

A SACRED ODE.

"VENGEANCE, ariſe from thy infernal Bed;
"And pour thy Tempeſt on his Guilty Head!"
Thus Heav'n's Decree, in Thunder's Sound,
Shook the dark Abyſs profound.—
The unchain'd Furies come!
Pale *Melancholy* ſtalks from Hell:
Th' abortive Offspring of her Womb,
Deſpair and *Anguiſh* round her yell.
By ſleepleſs Terror SAUL poſſeſs'd,
Deep feels the Fiend within his tortur'd Breaſt.
Midnight Spectres round him howl:
Before his Eyes
In Troops they riſe;
And Seas of Horror overwhelm his Soul.

Haſte; to JESSE's *Son* repair:
He beſt can ſweep the Lyre,
Wake the ſolemn ſounding Air,
And lead the vocal Choir:
On ev'ry String ſoft-breathing Raptures dwell,
To ſooth the Throbbings of the troubled Breaſt;
Whoſe magic Voice can bid the Tides of Paſſion ſwell,
Or lull the raging Storm to Reſt.

Sunk on his Couch, and loathing Day,
The heav'n-forſaken *Monarch* lay:
To the ſad Couch the *Shepherd* now drew near;
And, while th' obedient *Choir* ſtood round,
Prepar'd to catch the Soul-commanding Sound,
He drop'd a gen'rous Tear.—
Thy pitying Aid, O GOD, impart!
For lo, thy poiſon'd Arrows drink his Heart.
The mighty Song from *Chaos* roſe.—
Around his Throne the formleſs Atoms ſleep,
And drowzy Darkneſs broods upon the Deep:—
Confuſion, wake!
Bid the Realms of *Chaos* ſhake!
Rouſe him from his dread Repoſe!—
Hark! loud *Diſcord* breaks her Chain:
The hoſtile Atoms claſh with deafning Roar:
Her hoarſe Voice thunders through the drear Domain;
And kindles ev'ry Element to War.—
"Tumult ceaſe!
"Sink to Peace!
"Let there be Light!"—Th' *Almighty* ſaid:
And lo, the radiant *Sun*,
Flaming from his orient Bed,
His endleſs Courſe begun.
See, the twinkling *Pleiads* riſe:
Thy Star, *Orion*, reddens in the Skies:
While ſlow around the northern Plain,
Arcturus wheels his nightly Wane.
Thy Glories, too, refulgent *Moon*, he ſung;
Thy myſtic Mazes, and thy changeful Ray:
O faireſt of the ſtarry Throng!
Thy ſolemn Orb of Light
Guides the triumphant Carr of Night
O'er Silver Clouds, and ſheds a ſofter Day!

Ye *Planets*, and each circling *Conſtellation*,
In Songs harmonious tell your Generation!
Oh, while yon radiant *Seraph* turns the Spheres,
And on the ſtedfaſt Pole-Star ſtands ſublime;
Wheel your Rounds
To heav'nly Sounds;

And

And ſooth his Song-inchanted Ears,
With your celeſtial Chime.

In dumb Surprize the liſt'ning Monarch lay;
(His Woe ſuſpended by ſweet Muſic's Sway)
And awe-ſtruck, with upliſted Eye
Mus'd on the new-born Wonders of the Sky.

Lead the ſoothing Verſe along:
He feels, he feels the Pow'r of Song.—
Ocean haſtens to his Bed:
The lab'ring Mountain rears his rock encumber'd Head:
Down his ſteep and ſhaggy Side
The torrent rolls his thund'ring Tide;
Then ſmooth and clear, along the fertile Plain
Winds his majeſtic Waters to the diſtant Main.
Flocks and Herds the Hills adorn:
The Lark, high-ſoaring, hails the Morn.
And while along yon crimſon-clouded Steep
The ſlow Sun ſteals into the golden Deep,
Hark! the ſolemn Nightingale
Warbles to the woodland Dale.
See, deſcending Angels ſhow'r
Heav'n's own Bliſs on *Eden's* Bow'r:
Peace on Nature's Lap repoſes;
Pleaſure ſtrews her guiltleſs Roſes:
Joys divine in Circles move,
Link'd with Innocence and Love.
Hail, happy Love, with Innocence combin'd!
All hail, ye ſinleſs Parents of Mankind!

They paus'd:—the Monarch, proſtrate on his Bed,
Submiſſive bow'd his Head;
Ador'd the Works of boundleſs Pow'r divine:
Then, Anguiſh-ſtruck, he cry'd (and ſmote his Breaſt)
Why, why is Peace the welcome Gueſt
Of ev'ry Heart but Mine!

Now let the ſolemn Numbers flow,
Till he feel that Guilt is Woe.
Heav'nly Harp, in mournful Strain
O'er yon weeping Bow'r complain:

What Sounds of bitter Pangs I hear!
What Lamentations wound mine Ear!
In vain, devoted Pair, theſe Tears ye ſhed:
Peace with Innocence is fled.
The Meſſengers of Grace depart:
Death glares, and ſhakes the dreadful Dart!
Ah, whither fly ye, by yourſelves abhor'd,
To ſhun that frowning Cherub's fiery Sword?—
Lo!
Hapleſs, hapleſs Pair,
Goaded by Deſpair,
Forlorn, thro' deſert Climes they go!
Wake, my Lyre! can Pity ſleep,
When Heav'n is mov'd, and Angels weep!
Flow, ye melting Numbers, flow;
Till he feel, that Guilt is Woe.—

The King, with Pride, and Shame, and Anguiſh, torn,
Shot Fury from his Eyes, and Scorn.
The glowing Youth,
Bold in Truth,
(So ſtill ſhould Virtue guilty Pow'r engage)
With Brow undaunted met his Rage.
See, his Cheek kindles into generous Fire:
Stern, he bends him o'er his Lyre;
And, while the Doom of Guilt he ſings,
Shakes Horror from the tortur'd Strings.

What Sounds of Terror and Diſtreſs
Rend yon howling Wilderneſs!
The dreadful Thunders ſound;
The forked Lightnings flaſh along the Ground.
Why yawns that deep'ning Gulph below?—
'Tis for Heav'n's rebellious Foe:—
Fly, ye Sons of ISRAEL, fly,
Who dwells in *Korah's* guilty Tents muſt die!—
They ſink!—Have Mercy, Lord!—Their Cries
In dreadful Tumult riſe!
Hark, from the Deep their loud Laments I hear!
They leſſen now, and leſſen on the Ear!

Now,

Now, Deſtruction's Strife is o'er!
The countleſs Hoſt
For ever loſt!
The Gulph is clos'd.---Their Cries are heard no more!--

But Oh, my Lyre, what Accents can relate
Sinful Man's appointed Fate!
He comes, he comes! th'avenging GOD!
Clouds and Darkneſs round him rowl:
Tremble Earth! Ye Mountains, nod!
He bows the Skies, and ſhakes the Pole.
The gloomy Banners of his Wrath unfurl'd,
He calls the Floods, to drown a guilty World:
" *Ruin*, lift thy baleful Head:
" Rouze the guilty World from Sleep;
" Lead up thy Billows from their cavern'd Bed,
" And burſt the Rocks that chain thee in the Deep."—
Now, th'impetuous Torrents riſe;
The hoarſe-aſcending Deluge roars:
Down ruſh the Cataracts from the Skies;
The ſwelling Waves o'erwhelm the Shores.
Juſt, O God, is thy Decree!
Shall guilty Man contend with Thee!
Lo, *Hate* and *Envy*, ſea-intomb'd,
And *Rage* with *Luſt* in Ruin ſleep;
And ſcoffing *Luxury* is doom'd
To glut the vaſt and rav'nous Deep!
In vain from *Fate* th'aſtoniſh'd Remnant flies:
" Shrink, ye Rocks! Ye Oceans, riſe!"
The tottering Cliffs no more the Floods controul;
Sea following Sea ingulphs the Ball:
O'er the ſunk Hills the watry Mountains rowl,
And wide *Deſtruction* ſwallows all!——
Now fiercer let th' impaſſioned Numbers glow:
Swell the Song, ye mighty Choir!
Wing your dreadful Darts with Fire!
Hear me, Monarch!—Guilt is Woe!

Thus while the frowning *Shepherd* pour'd along
The deep impetuous Torrent of his Song;
SAUL, ſtung by dire Deſpair,
Gnaſh'd his Teeth, and tore his Hair.

From

From his Blood, by Horror chill'd,
A cold and agonizing Sweat diſtill'd:
Then, foaming with unutterable Smart,
He aim'd a Dagger at his Heart.
His watchful Train prevent the Blow;
And call each lenient Balm, to heal his frantic Woe:
But pleas'd, the *Shepherd* now beheld
His Pride by Heav'n's own Terrors quell'd
Then bade his potent Lyre controul
The mighty Storm that rent his Soul.

Ceaſe your Cares: The Body's Pain
A ſweet Relief may find:
But Gums and lenient Balms are vain,
To heal the wounded Mind.
Come, fair *Repentance*, from the Skies,
O fainted Maid, with upcaſt Eyes!
Deſcend in thy celeſtial Shrowd,
Veſted in a weeping Cloud!
Holy Guide, deſcend, and bring
Mercy from th' eternal King!
Calm his Soul, your Beams impart,
And pour your Comforts o'er his Heart!——

They come: O King, thine Ear incline:
Liſten to their Voice divine:
Their Voice ſhall every Pang compoſe,
To gentle Sorrow melt thy Woes;
Till each pure Wiſh to Heav'n ſhall ſoar,
And Peace return, to part no more!

Behold, obedient to their great Command,
The lifted Dagger quits his trembling Hand:
Smooth'd is his Brow, where ſullen Care
And furrow'd Horror couch'd with fell Deſpair:
No more his Eyes with Fury glow;
But heav'nly Grief ſucceeds to hell-born Woe.——
See, the Signs of Grace appear:
See the ſoft relenting Tear,
Trickling at ſweet Mercy's Call!
Catch it, Angels, ere it fall!

And let the heart-ſent Offering riſe,
Heav'ns beſt-accepted Sacrifice! ——

Yet, yet again? —— Ah ſee, the Pang returns!
Again with inward Fire his heaving Boſom burns!
Now, *Shepherds*, wake a mightier Strain:
Search the deep, heart rending Pain;
Till the large Floods of Sorrow roll,
And quench the Tortures of his Soul.
Almighty LORD, accept his Pang ſincere!
Let heav'nly Hope diſpell each dark Temptation!
And, while he pours the penitential Tear,
O viſit him with thy Salvation! ——

Stoop from Heav'n, ye raptur'd Throng;
Sink, ye ſwelling Tides of Song!
For lo, diſſolv'd by Muſic's melting Pow'r,
Celeſtial Sorrow rolls her plenteous Show'r.
O'er his wan Cheek the Colours riſe;
And Beams of Comfort brighten in his Eyes.
Happy King, thy Woes are o'er!
Thy God ſhall wound thy Heart no more:
The pitying Father of Mankind
Meets the pure-returning Mind.
No more ſhall black Deſpair afflict his Soul:
Each gentler Sound, ye Shepherds, now combine:
Sweetly let the Numbers roll:
Sooth him into Hope divine.

Now lowly let the ruſtic Meaſure glide,
To quell the dark Remains of ſelf-conſuming Pride,
Till Nature's home-ſprung Bleſſings he confeſs,
And own that calm Content is Happineſs. ——
Ye Woods and Lakes, ye Cliffs and Mountains!
Haunted Grots, and living Fountains!
Liſten to your *Shepherd*'s Lay,
Whoſe artleſs Carols cloſe the Day.
Bounding Kids around him throng;
The ſteep Rock ecchoes back his Song:
While all unſeen to mortal Eye,
Sliding down the evening Sky,

Holy

Holy *Peace*, tho' born above
Daughter of *Innocence* and *Love*,
Quits her Throne and Manſion bright,
Her Crown of Stars, and Robe of Light,
Serene, in gentle Smiles array'd,
To dwell beneath his Palm-Tree Shade.
Hail, meek Angel! awful Gueſt!
Still pour thy Radiance o'er my Breaſt!
Pride and *Hate* in Courts may ſhine:
The *Shepherd*'s calm and blameleſs Tent is Thine!—

Softly, ſoftly breath your Numbers;
And wrap his weary'd Soul in Slumbers!
Gentle Sleep, becalm his Breaſt,
And cloſe his Eyes in healing Reſt!
Deſcend, celeſtial Viſions, ye who wait,
God's miniſtring Pow'rs at Heav'n's eternal Gate!
Ye who nightly Vigils keep,
And rule the ſilent Realms of Sleep,
Exalt the Juſt to Joys refin'd,
And plunge in Woe the guilty Mind;
Deſcend! – Oh, waft him to the Skies,
And open all Heav'n's Glories to his Eyes!
Beyond yon ſtarry Roof, by *Seraphs* trod,
Where Light's unclouded Fountains blaze;
Where Choirs immortal hymn their God,
Intrench'd in Ecſtaſy of ceaſeleſs Praiſe.
Angels, heal his Anguiſh!
Your Harps and Voices joyn!
His Grief to Bliſs ſhall languiſh,
When ſooth'd by Sounds divine.

Behold, with dawning Joy each Feature glows!
See, the bliſsful Tear o'erflows!—
The Fiend is fled!—Let *Muſic*'s Rapture riſe:
Now, *Harmony*, thy ev'ry Nerve employ:
Shake the Dome, and pierce the Skies:
Wake him, wake him into Joy.—
What Pow'r can every Paſſion's Throe controul?
What Pow'r can boaſt the Charm divine,

To

To ſtill the Tempeſt of the Soul?
Celeſtial *Harmony*, that mighty Charm is Thine!
She, heav'nly born, came down to viſit Earth,
When from GOD's eternal Throne
The Beam of all-creative *Wiſdom* ſhone,
And ſpake fair Order into Birth.
At *Wiſdom*'s Call ſhe robed yon glittering Skies,
Attun'd the Spheres, and taught conſenting Orbs to riſe.
Angels wrapt in Wonder ſtood,
And ſaw that All was Fair, and All was Good.
'Twas then, ye Sons of GOD, in bright Array
Ye ſhouted o'er Creation's Day:
Then kindling into Joy,
The Morning Stars together ſung;
And thro' the vaſt etherial Sky
Seraphic Hymns and loud Hoſannahs rung.

THE END.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

RISE, UNION, and POWER,

THE

Progreſſions, Separations, and Corruptions,

OF

POETRY and MUSIC.

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A DIS-

A DISSERTATION, &c.

SECTION I.

The DESIGN.

BLEST Pair of Syrens, *Pledges of Heaven's Joy,*
Sphere-born harmonious Siſters, VOICE *and* VERSE,
Wed *your divine Sounds, and mix'd Pow'r employ!*

So ſaid the ſublime MILTON, who knew and felt their Force: But Thoſe whom *Nature* has thus *joined* together, *Man*, by his falſe Refinements, hath moſt *unnaturally* put *aſunder*.

The Purpoſe of the following Diſſertation, therefore, is to trace the *Riſe*, *Union*, and *Progreſſion* of *Poetry* and *Muſic*, as they are found to exiſt in their ſeveral Kinds and Gradations among Mankind; thence to conſider the Cauſes which have produced that *Separation* under which they now lie, and have often lain, among the more poliſhed Nations; and in Concluſion, to point out the *Circumſtances* in which, and the *Means* by which, they may poſſibly be *again united*.

SECT. II.

The propoſed Method of Inquiry.

WHATEVER is founded in ſuch *Paſſions* and *Principles* of Action, as are *common* to the whole *Race* of *Man*, will be moſt effectually inveſtigated, as to its *Origin* and *Progreſs*, by viewing Man in his *ſavage* or *uncultivated* State. Here, before Education and Art have caſt their Veil over the human Mind, its various Powers throw themſelves out, and all its Workings preſent themſelves inſtantly, and without Diſguiſe.

It

It may be affirmed with Truth, that, for want of beginning our Inquiries at this early and neglected Period, and by viewing Man under his State of *Civilization* only, many curious and intereſting Queſtions have been left involved in Darkneſs, which might have been clearly unfolded by a free and full Reſearch into the Paſſions, Propenſities, and Qualities of *ſavage* Man.

This the Writer hopes to make appear in a more *extenſive Degree*, and on Subjects of *higher Importance*, thro' the Courſe of a future Work; of which, ſome of the Principles here delivered will make an incidental Part. In the mean Time, he intends to treat the preſent Subject in the Way now propoſed, by deducing his Argument from the firſt great and original Fountain of *ſavage Life* and *Manners*.

SECT. III.

Of Muſic, Dance, and Poem, in the ſavage State.

BY examining ſavage Life, where untaught Nature rules, we find that the *agreeable Paſſions* of Love, Pity, Hope, Joy, and Exultation, no leſs than their *Contraries* of Hate, Revenge, Fear, Sorrow, and Deſpair, oppreſſing the human Heart by their mighty Force, are thrown out by the three Powers of *Action*, *Voice*, and *articulate Sounds*. The *Brute* Creatures expreſs their Paſſions by the two firſt of Theſe; ſome by *Action*, ſome by *Voice*, and ſome by *both* united: Beyond theſe, *Man* has the added Power of *articulate Speech*: The ſame Force of *Aſſociation* and *Fancy* which gives him *higher Degrees* and a *wider Variety* of *Paſſion*, gives riſe to this *additional Power* of expreſſing thoſe Paſſions which he feels.

Among the *Savages* who are in the *loweſt Scale* of the human Kind, theſe ſeveral Modes of expreſſing their Paſſions are found altogether ſuited to their wretched State. Their *Geſtures* are *uncouth* and *horrid*: Their *Voice* is thrown out in *Howls* and *Roarings*: Their *Language* is like the *Gabbling of Geeſe*.

But

But if we aſcend a Step or two higher in the Scale of ſavage Life, we ſhall find this *Chaos* of *Geſture*, *Voice*, and *Speech*, riſing into an agreeable *Order* and *Proportion*. The natural Love of a *meaſured Melody*, which Time and Experience produce, throws the Voice into *Song*, the *Geſture* into *Dance*, the *Speech* into *Verſe* or *Numbers*. The Addition of muſical *Inſtruments* comes of Courſe: They are but *Imitations* of the human Voice, or of other natural Sounds, produced gradually by frequent Trial and Experiment.

Such is the Generation and natural Alliance of theſe three *Siſter-Graces*, *Muſic*, *Dance*, and *Poem*, which we find moving Hand in Hand among the ſavage Tribes of every Climate.

For the Truth of the Fact, we may appeal to moſt of the Travellers who deſcribe the Scenes of uncultivated Nature: All theſe agree in telling us, that *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*, make up the ruling Paſtime, adorn the Feaſts, compoſe the Religion, fix the Manners, ſtrengthen the Policy, and even form the future Paradiſe, of ſavage Man. That having few Wants, and conſequently much Leiſure, the barbarous Tribes addict themſelves to theſe alluring Arts with a wonderful Degree of Paſſion, unleſs where their Manners are corrupted by an incidental Commerce with the Off-ſcum of civilized Nations. By theſe attractive and powerful Arts they celebrate their public Solemnities; by theſe they lament their private and public Calamities, the Death of Friends, or the Loſs of Warriors: by theſe united, they expreſs their Joy on their Marriages, Harveſts, Huntings, Victories; praiſe the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes; excite each other to War and brave Exploits, or to ſuffer Death and Tortures with unſhaken Conſtancy.

Theſe are the Circumſtances moſt *common* to the ſavage Tribes: Beſides theſe, there are many *peculiar* Modes, which ariſe from their different Climates, Situations, Opinions, Manners. Among ſome Tribes the *joyous* Paſſions, among ſome the *gentle*, among others the *ferocious*, predominate and take Place. To give all the Varieties of theſe ſavage and feſtal Solemnities, were an endleſs Labour. Let the following Account ſuffice, as a general Image of the reſt;

reſt; which is ſingled out, not only becauſe it is the moſt circumſtantial; but likewiſe for the particular Relation which it will be found to bear to a following Part of this Inquiry.

The IROQUOIS, HURONS, and ſome leſs conſiderable Tribes, are free and independent Savages, who inhabit the northern Continent of AMERICA; and extend their Settlements from the Back of the *Britiſh Colonies* to the Borders of the *Great Lakes*, along the Skirts of LOUISIANA, and down the River OHIO, towards the MISSISIPI, and the Gulph of FLORIDA. Father LAFITAU [*b*] gives the following Deſcription of their feſtal Solemnities; which it is neceſſary to tranſcribe at large, in order to give an adequate Idea of their Manners and Character.

"On the appointed Day, early in the Morning, they "prepare the Feaſt in the *Council-Cabin*, and there they "diſpoſe all Things for the Aſſembly.---In the mean-"time, a public Crier goes through the Village, and gives "Notice that the *Kettle* is hung on in ſuch a Cabin: "The common People, and even the Chiefs, bring with "them their *little Kettle*. It doth not appear, that there "is any Diſtinction of Ranks among them, except that "the *old Men* occupy the foremoſt Matts. The IRO-"QUOIS *Women* aſſiſt not, that I know of, at theſe Kinds "of Feaſts; nor are they invited. The *Children*, and "*young Men*, who are not as yet choſen into the Body "of Warriors, mount upon the Scaffolds which are placed "over the Matts, and even upon the Roof of the Cabin "itſelf, and look down through the Hole at which the "Smoke goes out.

"While the Aſſembly is forming, He who makes the "Feaſt, or He in whoſe Name it is made, *ſings alone*.— "The Deſign of this is to entertain the Company, on "ſuch Things as have Relation to the Subject on which "they aſſemble. Theſe *Songs*, for the moſt Part, are fill-"ed with the *Fables* of *ancient Times*, the *heroic Deeds* of "their *Nation*; and are compoſed in an *antiquated Style*; "ſo old, that often they underſtand not what they ſay.

[*b*] *Mœurs des Sauvages*, tom. ii. p. 213, &c. 12mo.

"The

" The Singer hath ſometimes an Aſſiſtant, who relieves " him when he is fatigued: For they ſing with all their " Force.

" The Speaker then opens the Scene, by aſking in Form, " if all who are invited are come. He then names the " Perſon who makes the Feaſt, he declares the Occaſion " on which it is made, and enters into a particular Detail " of all that is in the Kettle. At every thing which he " names the whole Choir replies by a repeated Shout of " Approbation.

" The Speaker then gives an Account of every thing, " which it is of Importance that the Public ſhould know. " For theſe *Song-Feaſts*, being made on all *weighty Occa-* " *ſions* which regard the *Village* or the *Nation*; this is the " proper Time for public Affairs, as that of renewing " a *Name*, hearing *Ambaſſadors*, or *proclaiming War* by " *Song*.

" When the Orator hath done ſpeaking, ſometimes they " begin to eat before they ſing, that they may have the " better Spirits: Sometimes they ſing before they eat: If " the Feaſt is to continue for the whole Day, the Kettle " is in Part empty'd in the Morning, and in Part reſerved " for the Evening; and in the Intervals they *ſing* and " *dance*.

" The Maſter of the Feaſt touches nothing. He buſies " himſelf only in ſeeing that the Company be ſerved, or " in ſerving them himſelf; naming aloud the Pieces which " he deſtines and preſents to each. The beſt Morſels are " given, by Way of Preference, to thoſe whom he chu- " ſeth to diſtinguiſh.

" After the Repaſt, the Maſter of the Feaſt begins the " *Athonront*, a *Song* and *Dance* peculiar to the *Men*. They " relieve each other, by beginning with thoſe of moſt " *Conſideration* and paſſing gradually down to the *Young-* " *eſt*. They have that Civility and Attention to each " other, that every one waits till another of ſuperior Dig- " nity enters the Liſts, and takes the Lead.

" The *Ancients* and Men of Dignity often do no more " than *riſe* from their Seats; and content themſelves, while " they *ſing*, with making ſome *Inflexions* with their Head, " Shoulders, and Knees, in order to *accompany* and *ſuſtain*

" their

" their *Song*. Others ſomewhat leſs grave, take a few " Steps, and walk along the Cabin around the Fires. " Every one hath his particular *Song*; that is, an *Air*, to " which he *adjuſts* a very few *Words*, which he repeats " as often as he pleaſeth. I have obſerved, that they " even *retrench* or *ſtrike off* ſome *Syllables* from their " Words, as if they were *Verſes*, or *meaſured* Words, " but *without Rhyme*.

" He who means to dance, begins by riſing from his " Matt; and the whole Company anſwers him by a ge- " neral Shout of Approbation: As he paſſeth along be- " fore every Fire, they who ſit on each Side *beat* the *Mea-* " *ſure* or *Cadence* of his *Song* by a correſpondent Motion " of the Head; and by throwing out continual Shouts " which they redouble at certain Times, where the " Meaſure demands it, with ſo much Truth, that they " never err; and with ſuch a Delicacy of Ear, as the " *French*, who are moſt practiſed in their Cuſtoms, can- " not attain to. When he paſſeth to a ſecond Fire, They " of the firſt take Breath: They of the more diſtant Fires " are likewiſe ſilent: But the *Time* is always *beat* by thoſe " before whoſe Fire he ſings and dances. The Song con- " cludes by a general *Ehoue!* of the whole Choir; which " is a ſecond Shout of Approbation.

" The *young* Men have their *Songs* of a more *lively*, and " their *Dances* of a more *vigorous* Caſt; ſuch as are ſuit- " able to their Age. When the Dance is much animated, " they dance two or three together, each at his own Fire: " Nor does this Mixture ever occaſion any Confuſion.

" Among theſe Dances, *ſome* are no more than a *ſimple* " and *noble* Manner of *marching* up to an *Enemy*; and of " *facing Danger* with *Intrepidity* and *Gaiety* of Mind.

" A ſecond Sort of Dance, but ſtill of the ſame Kind, is " that of the *Pantomimes:* Which conſiſts in repreſenting " an Action in the Manner in which it paſſed, or ſuch as " they conceive it to have been. Many of thoſe who have " lived among the IROQUOIS, have aſſured me, that " after a Chief of War hath circumſtantially recounted, " at his Return, all that had paſſed in the Expeditions " he had undertaken, and the Battles he had fought, they

who

" who are preſent at the Recital often riſe on the ſudden
" to dance, and repreſent thoſe Actions with great Viva-
" city, as if they had been preſent: And all this, with-
" out any previous Concert or Preparation.

" In their *Songs* they *praiſe* not only their *Gods* and *He-*
" *roes*, but they likewiſe praiſe *themſelves:* in this they
" are not ſparing: and are even *prodigal* of their *Praiſe* of
" *others*, whom they think *worthy* of it. He who is thus
" applauded, anſwers by a ſhout of Thanks, as ſoon as
" he hears himſelf named.

" They are ſtill quicker at *rallying* each other; and
" ſucceed to a Wonder in This. He who dances, takes
" whomſoever he pleaſeth by the Hand, and brings him
" forth into the midſt of the Aſſembly: to which he
" yields without Reſiſtance. Meanwhile the *Dancer* con-
" tinues to *ſing*; and ſometimes in his *Song*, and ſome-
" times in the *Intervals*, he throws his *Sarcaſms* on the
" Patient, who hears him without Reply.—At every *Bon*
" *Mot*, loud *Peals* of *Laughter* ariſe along the *Galleries*,
" who *animate* this *Sport*, and often oblige the Patient to
" cover his Head in his Mantle.

" They have another Kind of *Dance*, in which the whole
" *Choir* dances: and this is common both to Men and Wo-
" men. As this is very different from the preceding ones,
" they do not uſe it in their *Song-Feaſts*. Their Pretenders
" to *Magic* [*c*] often ordain it as an *Act* of *Religion*, for the
" *healing* of the *Sick:* it is alſo one of their Modes of *Di-*
" *vination*. It is likewiſe practiſed, at Times, as a mere
" Exerciſe of *Pleaſure*, at the Feaſts and Solemnities of
" the Village. The Manner is as follows. Notice is gi-
" ven early in the Morning through all the Cabins, for
" the Performance of this Ceremony: Every Cabin de-
" putes a certain Number, either of Men or Women, who
" dreſs themſelves in all their Finery, that they may go
" and perform their Part. They all appear at the ap-
" pointed Hour (which is proclaimed by a public Crier)

[*c*] *Charlatans*,—a Word with which we have none preciſely correſpondent in our Language: It ſignifies here, one who is a Pretender to *Medicine* by the Arts of *Magic*.

" either in the Council Cabin, or ſome other Place deſtin-
" ed for the Purpoſe. In the middle of the Place or Ca-
" bin they build a little Scaffold; and on this they raiſe a
" ſmall Seat for the *Singers* who are to *accompany* and
" *animate* the *Dance*. One holds in his hand a *Tambour*
" or little *Drum*, the other a *Tortoiſe Shell*. While theſe
" ſing, and accompany their Song with the Sound of
" their Inſtruments (which is farther Strengthened by the
" Spectators, who beat with little Sticks upon the *Kettles*
" that are before them) they who dance, go round in a
" circular Movement; but without taking Hands, as
" they do in Europe. Each Dancer makes various Mo-
" tions with his Feet and Hands, as he pleaſeth: And
" though all the Movements are different, according to the
" Whim and Caprice of their Imagination, none of them
" ever loſe the *Time*. They who are moſt expert in va-
" rying their Poſtures, and throwing themſelves into Ac-
" tion, are reckoned to excel the reſt. The Dance is
" compoſed of ſeveral *Returns*: Each *Return* laſts till
" the Dancers are out of Breath; and after a ſhort In-
" terval of *Repoſe*, they begin *another*. Nothing can be
" more animated than theſe Movements: To ſee them,
" one would ſay, they were a Troop of furious and fran-
" tic People. What muſt fatigue them ſtill more, is, that
" not only by their Movement but likewiſe with their
" Voice, they follow the Singers and their Inſtruments to
" the End of each *Return*; which is always cloſed by a
" general and loud *Oueh!* which is a Shout of Appro-
" bation, implying that the *Return* hath been well per-
" formed.

" Although I have not ſpoken particularly of any Na-
" tions but thoſe of the IROQUOIS and HURONS, yet I
" may truly ſay, that I have deſcribed, at the ſame Time,
" *all* the other barbarous Nations of AMERICA, as to
" what is *eſſential* and *principal*. For though there ap-
" pears to be a great Difference between the *Monarchic*
" and *Oligarchic* State, yet the Genius of their ſavage Po-
" licy is every where the ſame: We find the ſame Turn
" for public Affairs, the ſame Method of conducting
" them, the ſame Uſe of ſecret and ſolemn Aſſemblies, the
" ſame Character in their *Feaſts*, their *Dances*, and their
" *Diverſions*.

The

" The *Muſic* and *Dance* of the *Americans* have ſome-
" thing in them extremely barbarous, which at firſt diſ-
" guſts; and of which no Idea can be formed by thoſe
" who have not ſeen and heard them. We grow recon-
" ciled to them by Degrees, and in the End partake of
" them with Pleaſure As to the Savages themſelves, they
" are fond of theſe Feaſts even to Diſtraction. They con-
" tinue them whole Days and Nights entire; and the
" Shouts of their *Choir* are ſo violent, as to make the
" Village tremble."

Thus far the learned Father LAFITAU: for whoſe Detail no Apology needs be made to the curious Reader. But the more particular Reaſons, why it is here given at Length, will appear in the following Sections.

SECT. IV.

Of the natural Conſequences of a ſuppoſed Civilization.

WHILE theſe free and warlike Savages continue in their preſent *unlettered* State of Ignorance and Simplicity, no material Improvements in their *Song-Feaſts* can ariſe. But let us ſuppoſe that the Uſe of *Letters* ſhould come among them, and, as a Cauſe or Conſequence of *Civilization*, be cultivated with that Spirit which is natural to a free and active People; and many notable Conſequences would appear. Let us conſider the moſt probable and ſtriking among theſe natural Effects.

1. Their Idea of *Muſic*, in its moſt *inlarged* Senſe, would comprehend the three Circumſtances of *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*. For theſe three, as we have ſeen, being naturally conjoined, becauſe naturally producing each other, would not *ſeparately* command the Attention of ſuch a People at their public Feſtivals. Therefore *Inſtrumental Melody*, without *Song*, would be little attended to, and of *no Eſteem*; becauſe it would want all thoſe Attractions which muſt ariſe from the correſpondent *Dance* and *Song*.

2. In the early Periods of ſuch a Commonwealth, the *Chiefs* or *Legiſlators* would often be the *principal Muſicians*. The two Characters would commonly coaleſce; for we find, that among the ſavage Tribes, the *Chiefs* are they

who moſt ſignalize themſelves by *Dance* and *Song*; and that their *Songs* rowl principally on the *great Actions* and *Events* which concern their *own Nation*.

3. Hence, their moſt ancient *Gods* would naturally be ſtyled *Singers* and *Dancers*. For the moſt ancient *Gods* of civilized Pagan Countries are generally their early *Legiſlators*, who taught their People the firſt Arts of Life. Theſe deceaſed Legiſlators, therefore, when advanced to the Rank of Gods, would naturally be delivered down to Poſterity with the ſame Attributes and Qualities by which they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Life: And it appears, from the laſt Article, that theſe Qualities would naturally be thoſe of *Dance* and *Song*.

4 Meaſured Periods, or, in other Words, *Rythm*, *Numbers*, and *Verſe*, would naturally ariſe. For meaſured Cadence, or *Time*, is an eſſential Part of Melody, into which the human Ear naturally falls. And as the ſame Force of Ear would lead the Action or Dance to correſpond with the Melody, ſo the Words or Song muſt, on a like Principle, keep Pace with *Both*. Among the *ſavage Americans* we ſee the firſt Rudiments of poetic Numbers, emerging from this Source. For "as the "Means of adjuſting the Words to the Air or Melody, "they ſometimes ſtrike off Syllables from their Words." And ſuch is the natural generation of *Rythm* and *Verſe*.

5. Their earlieſt *Hiſtories* would be written in *Verſe*. For we ſee that among the ſavage Tribes, the Actions of their Heroes and Gods, and the great Events of their Nation, make a principal Part of their Songs. Whenever, therefore, the Uſe of Letters ſhould come among ſuch a People, theſe *ancient Songs* would naturally be *firſt recorded*, for the Information and Uſe of future Times.

6. Their moſt ancient *Maxims*, *Exhortations*, *Proverbs*, or *Laws*, would probably be written in Verſe. For theſe would naturally make a Part of their *Songs* of Celebration, and would by Degrees be *ſelected* from thence, would in Time become the *Standard* of *Right* and *Wrong*, and as ſuch be treaſured up and appealed to by the improving Tribe.

7. Their

7. Their *religious Rites* would naturally be performed or accompany'd by *Dance* and *Song*. For it appears from Fact that the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes are the moſt general Subject of the Savage Dance and Song: and the common End of Pagan Rites hath ever been, to praiſe the Gods of the Country, and by theſe Means (as well as by Sacrifice) to appeaſe their Wrath, or ſecure their Favour.

8. Their *earlieſt Oracles* would probably be delivered in *Verſe* and *ſung* by the Prieſt or Prieſteſs of the ſuppoſed God. For theſe *Oracles* being ſuppoſed to be *inſpired* by a deceaſed *Chief* (now a *Deity*) who had himſelf delivered his Exhortations in this *enthuſiaſtic Manner*; and being addreſſed to a Tribe among whom this Mode of Inſtruction univerſally prevailed, no other Vehicle but that of *Verſe* and *Song* could at firſt gain theſe *Oracles* either *Credit* or *Reception*

9. Their *Melody* would be *ſimple*; and derive a conſiderable Part of its Power from its *Rythm* or *Meaſure*, without any Mixture of *artificial Compoſition*. Firſt, becauſe this Kind would be moſt ſuited to the *Powers* of the barbarous *Legiſlators* or *Bards*, at once *Compoſers* and *Performers*, among whom nothing artificial or refined could as yet take Place. Secondly, becauſe this *Simplicity* of Manner would be beſt adapted to the Capacity of the ſurrounding People, incapable, in this early Period, to be attracted or moved by any thing but what *Nature* dictates.

10. The Force of this ſimple Melody would be much increaſed by the Power of early *Aſſociation* and continued *Habit*. For this, by *appropriating* certain *Sounds* to certain *Subjects*, would raiſe their Melody into a Kind of natural and expreſſive Language of the Paſſions.

11. Their *Songs* would be of a *legiſlative* Caſt; and being drawn chiefly from the Fables or Hiſtory of their own Country, would contain the eſſential Parts of their *religious*, *moral*, and *political* Syſtems. For we have ſeen above, that the *Celebration* of their deceaſed Heroes would of Courſe grow into a *religious* Act: That the *Exhortations* and *Maxims* intermixed with theſe Celebrations, and founded on the *Example* of their *Heroe-Gods*, would naturally become the *Standard* of *Right and Wrong*; that

who moſt ſignalize themſelves by *Dance* and *Song*; and that their *Songs* rowl principally on the *great Actions* and *Events* which concern their *own Nation*.

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is, the Foundation of *private Morals* and *public Law:* And thus the whole Fabric of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*, would naturally ariſe from, and be included in their *Songs*, during their Progreſs from ſavage to civilized Life.

12. MUSIC, in the extended Senſe of the Word (that is, including Melody, Dance, and Song) would make an eſſential and principal Part in the *Education* of their Children. For the important Principles of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*, being delivered and inculcated in their *Songs*, no other Method could be deviſed, which would ſo ſtrongly impreſs the youthful Mind with the *approved Principles* of *Life* and *Action.*

13. MUSIC therefore (in this extended Senſe) muſt gain a great and *univerſal Power* over the minds and Actions of ſuch a People. For through the Force of early and continued *Habit*, together with the irreſiſtible Contagion of general *Example*, while every thing pleaſing, great and important, was conveyed through this Medium, and through this only, ſuch ſtrong Impreſſions would ſtrike themſelves into the growing Mind, as would give it its ruling Colour through Life, and ſuch as no future Incidents could eaſily weaken or efface.

14. In the Courſe of Time, and the Progreſs of Polity and Arts, a *Separation* of the ſeveral Parts or Branches of Muſic (in its extended Senſe) would naturally ariſe. Till a certain Period of Civilization, Letters, and Art, the ſeveral Kinds would of courſe lie confuſed, in a Sort of undiſtinguiſhed Maſs, and be mingled in the ſame Compoſition, as Inclination, Enthuſiaſm, or other Incidents might impel. But repeated Trial and Experiment would naturally produce a more artificial Manner; and thus, by Degrees, the ſeveral Kinds of Poem would aſſume their legitimate Forms.

15. If their warlike Character continued, the *Dance* would naturally *ſeparate* from the *Song*; and would itſelf become a *diſtinct Exerciſe* or *Art*, for the ſake of increaſing their Strength and Agility of Body, as the Means of rendering them invincible in War. For the Dance or Action of their Song-Feaſts, being only ſecondary, and merely an Appendage to the Song, would not be of a Character ſufficiently

ciently ſevere for the fierce and ſtubborn Contention of thoſe who were deſtined to the immediate Toils of warlike Service.

16. After a certain Period of Civilization, the complex Character of *Legiſlator* and *Bard* would *ſeparate*, or be ſeldom united. For as the Society grew more populous, and the increaſing Arts of Life increaſed the Labours and Cares of Government, the *muſical Art* (in its extended Senſe) would of courſe be delegated by the civil Magiſtrate, to ſuch Men of Genius and Worth, as might apply it to its proper Ends, the Inſtruction and Welfare of Mankind.

17. *Hymns* or *Odes* would be compoſed, and *Sung* by their Compoſers at their feſtal Solemnities. For theſe, in their ſimple State, are but a Kind of rapturous Exclamations of Joy, Grief, Triumph, or Exultation, in Conſequence of ſome great or diſaſtrous Action, known, alluded to, or expreſſed: A Species of Compoſition which naturally ariſeth from the ſavage Song-Feaſt.

18. The *Epic Poem* would naturally ariſe, and be ſung by its Compoſers at their public Solemnities. For it appears above [*d*], that their earlieſt Hiſtories would be written in Verſe, and make a Part of their public Song-Feaſts. Now the *Epic Poem* is but a Kind of *fabulous Hiſtory*, rowling chiefly on the great Actions of ancient Gods and Heroes, and artificially compoſed under certain Limitations with Reſpect to its *Manner*, for the Ends of Pleaſure, Admiration, and Inſtruction.

19. From an *Union* of theſe two, a certain rude Outline of *Tragedy* would naturally ariſe. We may ſee the firſt Seeds or Principles of this Poem, in the Conduct of the ſavage *Song-Feaſt*. A *Chief ſings* ſome great Action of a God or Heroe: The ſurrounding *Choir anſwer* him at Intervals, by Shouts of Sympathy or concurrent Approbation.

20. In Proceſs of Time, this barbarous Scene would improve into a more perfect Form: Inſtead of *relating*, they would probably repreſent, by Action and Song united, thoſe great or terrible Atchievements which their Heroes

[*d*] Article 5.

had performed. For of this, too, we find the Seeds or Principles in the ſavage State. " After a Chief of War " hath recounted the Battles he had fought, they who " are preſent will often riſe up to dance, and repreſent " thoſe Actions with great Vivacity." If to this we add the uſual Exclamations of the ſurrounding Choir, we here behold the firſt *rude Form of ſavage Tragedy*.

21. If the *Choir* ſhould be *eſtabliſhed* by general Uſe, and ſhould animate the Solemnity by *Dance* as well as *Song*; the *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song* would of courſe *regulate* each other, and the *Ode* or *Song* would fall into *Stanzas* of ſome *particular Kind*. This appears from the third Article.

22. Another Conſequence of an *eſtabliſhed Choir* would be an unvaried Adherence to the *Unities* of *Place* and *Time*. For a numerous Choir, maintaining their Station through the whole Performance, muſt give ſo forcible a Conviction to the Senſes, of the *Sameneſs* of *Place*, and *Shortneſs* of *Time*, that any Deviation from this apparent Unity, muſt ſhock the Imagination with an Improbability too groſs to be endured.

23. Not only the Part of the tragic *Choir*, but the *Epiſode* or *interlocutory* Part would be alſo *ſung*. For as the *Ode* and *Epic* would be *ſung* from the earlieſt Periods; ſo when they became *united*, and by that Union formed the tragic Species, they of Courſe maintained the ſame Appendage of *Melody*, which Nature and Cuſtom had already given them.

24. While the Nation held its *fierce* and *warlike* Character, the *tragic* Repreſentations would chiefly turn on Subjects *diſtreſsful* or *terrible*. For thus they would animate each other to *Victory* and *Revenge*, by a Repreſentation of what their *Friends* had *done* and *ſuffered* Theſe Subjects would likewiſe be moſt accommodated to the natural Taſte of the poetic Chiefs of ſuch a People; whoſe Atchievements muſt produce and abound with Events of Diſtreſs and Terror. They alſo would be beſt ſuited to the Genius and Ends of their State and Polity: For as the leading View of ſuch a fierce and warlike People muſt be to deſtroy Pity and Fear; ſo this would moſt effectually be done, by making themſelves familiar with diſtreſsful and terrible Repreſentations. The gentle Paſſions, and leſs

affecting

affecting Actions, which might fill the Spectacles of a mild and peaceful Nation, would be inſipid to the Taſte, and incompatible with the Character, of ſuch a warlike People.

25. As their Tragedy would be intended as a *viſible Repreſentation* of their ancient Gods and Heroes, ſo it would be natural for them to invent ſome Means of *ſtrengthening* the *Voice*, and *aggrandiſing* the *Viſage* and *Perſon*, as the means of compleating the Reſemblance: For in all Savage Countries, the *talleſt* and *ſtrongeſt* Men are generally ſelected as their *Chiefs*.

26. As their Tragic *Poets* would be *Singers*, ſo they would be *Actors*, and perform ſome capital Part in their own Pieces for the Stage. For we ſee theſe different Characters are naturally united in the ſavage State: Therefore, till ſome extraordinary Change in Manners and Principles ſhould enſue, this *Union* would of Courſe continue.

27. *Muſical Conteſts* would be admitted as *public Exerciſes* in ſuch a State. For we have ſeen, that the important Articles of Religion, Morals, and Polity, would naturally make a Part of their public Songs: therefore public Conteſts of this Kind would be regarded as the beſt and ſureſt Means of raiſing an Emulation of a moſt uſeful Nature; and of ſtrengthening the State, by inforcing all the fundamental Principles of Society in the moſt ſtriking and effectual Manner.

28. The Profeſſion of *Bard* or *Muſician* would be held as very honourable, and of high Eſteem. For he would be veſted with a Kind of *public Character:* and if not an original Legiſlator, yet ſtill he would be regarded as a *ſubordinate* and *uſeful Servant* of the *State*.

29. *Odes*, or *Hymns*, would naturally make a Part of their *domeſtic Entertainments:* and the *Chiefs* would be proud to ſignalize themſelves by their Skill in *Melody* and *Song*. For their Songs being enriched with all the great and important Subjects relative to the public State; nothing could be more ſuitable to a high Station in the Commonwealth, than a Proficiency in this ſublime and legiſlative Art.

30. When *Muſic* had attained to this State of relative Perfection, it would be regarded as a *neceſſary Accompliſhment*.

pliſhment. And if any Man, or Society of Men, were unacquainted with the Practice and Power of Muſic, their Ignorance in this Art would be regarded as a capital Defect: For it would imply a Deficiency in the three great leading Articles of Education, *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*.

31. The Genius of their *Muſic* would *vary* along with their *Manners:* For Manners being the leading and moſt eſſential Quality of Man; All his other Taſtes and Acquirements naturally correſpond with *Theſe*; and accommodate themſelves to his Manners, as to their chief and original Cauſe.

32. As a Change of Manners muſt influence their Muſic, ſo, by a reciprocal Action, a Change in their Muſic muſt influence Manners: For we have ſeen, that Muſic was the *eſtabliſhed Vehicle* of all the great Principles of Education: Therefore a Change in Muſic muſt tend to bring on a Change in *Theſe*.

33. A Provident Community of Principles, uncommonly ſevere, would probably fix both the Subjects and Movements of Song and Dance, by Law: This would ariſe from their Knowledge of the mutual Influence of Manners and Muſic on each other.

34. In a Society of more libertine and relaxed Principles, the Corruption of Muſic would naturally ariſe, along with the Corruption of Manners; for the Reaſons now aſſigned: and the Muſicians, Bards, or Poets, would be the immediate Inſtruments of this Corruption. For being educated in a corrupt State, they would be apt to debaſe their Art to vile and immoral Purpoſes, as the means of gaining that Applauſe which would be the natural Object of their Ambition.

35. In Conſequence of this Corruption, a gradual and total *Separation* of the *Bard*'s or *Muſician*'s complex Character would enſue. For the *Chief* would now no longer pride himſelf on the Character of *Poet* or Performer; nor the *Man* of *Genius* and *Worth* deſcend to the Profeſſion of *Lyriſt*, *Singer*, or *Actor:* Becauſe theſe Profeſſions, which had formerly been the Means of inculcating every thing

thing laudable and great, would now (when perverted to the contrary Purpoſes) be diſdained by the Wiſe and Virtuous.

36. Hence the Power, the Utility and Dignity of *Muſic* would ſink into a general Corruption and Contempt. This Conſequence is ſo plain, as to need no Illuſtration.

SECT. V.

An Application of theſe Principles to the Melody, Dance, and Song, of ancient Greece.

SUCH may ſeem to be the Conſequences which would naturally ariſe in a ſavage, free, and warlike State, ſhould *Letters* be introduced and cultivated among ſuch a ſpirited and active People. In Support of the Truth of theſe Deductions, let us now endeavour to *realize* them; by ſhewing that ſuch Conſequences did in Fact ariſe in ancient GREECE. In the Courſe of this Review, which will contain the Riſe, Progreſs, Power, Perfection, Separation, and Corruption, of their *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*, we may perhaps be fortunate enough, on the Principles here given, to fix ſome Things which have been held doubtful, to unfold others which have been held doubtful, to unfold others which have hitherto been confeſſedly unaccountable, and to reſolve others into their proper and evident Cauſes, which have been attributed to ſuch Cauſes as never had Exiſtence.

1. "Their Idea of *Muſic*, in its moſt inlarged Senſe, "comprehended the three Circumſtances of *Melody*, *Dance*, "and *Song*."—This appears from the concurrent Teſtimony of many ancient Authors: The following one from the *Alcibiades* of PLATO may alone be a ſufficient Authority. "*Socr.* Tell me firſt, what Art is that, to which it "belongs properly to *ſing*, to *play*, and *dance*? Cannot "you find a Name for this comprehenſive Art?—*Alcib.* "I cannot.—*Socr.* Try a little: Who are the Goddeſſes "that preſide over this Art?—*Alcib.* Do you mean the "MUSES? *Socr.* I do: Conſider then, what Name the "Art receives from them.—*Alcib.* You ſeem to hint at

"MUSIC.

" MUSIC.—*Socr.* You are right [*e*]."—The ſame Truth is no leſs evident from the circumſtantial Account which ATHENÆUS gives of the old ARCADIAN *Muſic*; which in its general Acceptation, included *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song* [*f*]. It appears, then, that this Combination or Union of theſe three *Siſter-Graces* aroſe naturally in ancient GREECE, from an Improvement of the *ſavage* State into a certain Degree of *Civilization*. They needed no *Art* to joyn them: For as they *naturally* produce each other, and are naturally conjoyned in the ſavage and uncultivated State, this Union would of Courſe continue, till ſome violent Change in Manners or Principles ſhould break that Union which Nature had eſtabliſhed—It appears no leſs evidently from ancient Writers, that what we call *Inſtrumental Muſic*, that is, the Melody of Inſtruments, unaccompany'd by Dance or Song, was a Thing never held in Eſteem till the later Periods of Antiquity, in which a general Separation took Place. This will appear more at large hereafter. PLATO calls Inſtrumental Muſic " *an unmeaning Thing*, and *an abuſe of Melody* [*g*]."

2. " In the earlieſt Periods of the *Greek* States, their " Legiſlators were often Bards, or their Bards were Legiſ- " lators." Such, in a more eminent Degree, were APOLLO, ORPHEUS, AMPHION, LINUS, and MUSÆUS [*h*]. Of this Rank too, was THALES the *Cretan* Lawgiver; who compoſed Laws in Verſe, and ſung them to his Lyre [*i*]. It hath been generally ſuppoſed, that the ſtory'd Power of their Lyres and Songs meant no more, than by a metaphorical Expreſſion to convey a ſtronger Idea of their Eloquence and legiſlative Art, in producing *Order* from *Confuſion*. Thus PLUTARCH tells us, that " the An- " cients repreſented the Statues of the Gods with Muſical " Inſtruments in their Hands, not as being really Lyres or " Flutes; but becauſe they thought, that nothing ſo " much ſuited the Character and Office of the Gods, as " *Harmony* and *Order* [*k*]." Thus too, a noble Writer of

[*e*] PLATO, ALCIBIADES.
[*f*] *Deipnoſoph.* l. xiv.
[*g*] *De Legibus*, l. i.
[*b*] PLATO *de Rep.* l. ii.
[*i*] STRABO *Geog.* l. x.
[*k*] PLUT. *de Procreat. Animæ*, &c.

our

our own Country declares his Opinion, and ſays, that "*Tra-* "*dition*, which ſoon grew *fabulous*, could not better repre- "ſent the firſt *Founders* or Eſtabliſhers of large Societies, "than as *real Songſters* [*l*]". But *real Songſters*, beyond Doubt, they were; nor was Tradition *fabulous* in thus repreſenting them. For from a View of human Nature, as emerging from the ſavage State, it is evident, that the *Song* and *Lyre* (as ſoon as the Lyre was invented) muſt be the natural Means or Inſtruments of Civilization, by conveying the Legiſlator's Precepts to the ſurrounding People. For we have ſeen that, among the ſavage Tribes, the *Chiefs* are proud to ſignalize themſelves by *Song*; that they *preſide* at the *Song Feaſts*; and that their Songs rowl principally on the great Actions, Affairs, and Events of their own Nation. – A concurrent Proof of this natural Union of the Bard's and Legiſlator's Office might be drawn, were it neceſſary, from the Name which the old THESSALIANS gave their *Magiſtrates:* They ſtyled them προοιχηστηρες, or "the Leaders of the Dance and Song- "Feaſt [*m*]:" A Circumſtance which plainly points out its own Origin.

3. "Their moſt ancient Gods were ſtiled *Singers* and "*Dancers*." Thus HORACE calls APOLLO the *Singer* [*n*] PINDAR ſtiles him the *Dancer* [*o*]. HOMER, or the Author of the Hymns that paſs under his Name, gives him the ſame Appellation [*p*]. RHEA, the Mother of JUPITER, is ſaid to have taught her Prieſts the Art of *Dancing*, both in PHRYGIA and CRETE [*q*]: As CASTOR and POLLUX inſtructed the *Lacedemonians* in the ſame Art [*r*]. EUMELUS or ARCTINUS the *Corinthian* brings in even JUPITER himſelf *dancing*, in theſe Words,

Among them danc'd the Sire of Gods and Men. [*s*]

Whence it aroſe, that theſe ancient Gods were repreſented as *Singers* and *Dancers*, and veſted with a Quality

[*l*] *Characteriſticks*, vol. 1. p. 237. [*m*] LUCIAN. *de Saltatione.* [*n*] *Ep. ad Piſones.* [*o*] *Ode.* [*p*] *Hymn. in Apollinem.* [*q*] LUCIAN *de Saltatione.* [*r*] Ibid. [*s*] *Apud* ATHENÆUM *Deipn.* l. i.

which

which at firſt Sight ſeems altogether foreign to their Character, hath not as yet been accounted for. We now ſee the true and natural Origin of theſe Appellations. For the moſt ancient Gods, among the civilized *Greeks*, were their early Legiſlators, who taught the ſavage Tribes the firſt Arts of Life. Theſe deceaſed Legiſlators, therefore, when advanced to the Rank of Gods, were naturally delivered down to Poſterity, with the ſame Attributes or Qualities by which they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Life: and it appears from a View of the *Chiefs* of the ſavage Tribes, that theſe Qualities would naturally be thoſe of *Dance* and *Song*.

4. "Meaſured Periods, or, in other Words, Rythm, "Numbers, and Verſe, did naturally ariſe." The general Reaſon is aſſigned in the fourth Article of the laſt Section; and needs not to be repeated here. But as ſome particular Conſequences ariſe from this Foundation, relative to the moſt ancient *Hiſtory*, *Laws*, and *Oracles*, theſe will deſerve a ſeparate Conſideration.

5. "Their earlieſt Hiſtories were written in Verſe." This Fact is indiſputable; but ſeems not as yet, to have been reſolved into its true Cauſe. STRABO informs us, that, "The Poetic Form firſt appeared: They who imitated it, dropped the Meaſure: Such were CADMUS the *Mileſian*, PHERECYDES and HECATÆUS [*t*]. Theſe were the firſt *Greek* Hiſtorians who writ in *Proſe*. Another learned Ancient confirms this Account; and ſays, "In "theſe early Times, ſo general was the Inclination to "Rythm and Numbers, that all Inſtruction was given in "Verſe: There was neither *Hiſtory* nor *Philoſophy*, nor "any Action to be deſcribed, but what was dreſſed by the "*Muſes* [*u*]". Not only the *Greek* Writers give a concurrent Teſtimony concerning the Priority of *hiſtorical Verſe* to *Proſe*, but the Records of all Nations unite in confirming it. The oldeſt Compoſitions among the ARABS are in Rythm or rude Verſe; and are often cited as Proofs of the Truth of their ſubſequent Hiſtory [*w*]. The Accounts we have of the *Peruvian* Story confirm the ſame

[*t*] STRABO, l. i. [*u*] PLUTARCH.
[*w*] *Hiſt. de las Guerras Civil. de Grenada.*

Fact:

Fact: For GARCILASSO tells us, that he compiled a Part of his *Commentaries* from the *ancient Songs* of the Country [*x*]. Nay all the *American* Tribes who have any Compoſitions, are found to eſtabliſh the ſame Truth [*y*]. Northern EUROPE contributes its Share of Teſtimony: For there, too, we find the *Scythian* or *Runic* Songs (many of them *hiſtorical*) to be the oldeſt Compoſitions among theſe barbarous Nations [*z*]. ODIN is ſaid to have boaſted that "his Runic Poems were given him by the Gods [*a*]." A Circumſtance which proves them to have been of the higheſt Antiquity.

The Fact, then, is clear and certain: And as it is ſomewhat myſterious to common Apprehenſions, various Solutions have been attempted by the Learned; though, in my Opinion, without Succeſs. I ſhall give them, as they appear in various Writers.

LONGINUS hath aimed at ſomething like a Reaſon, in the following Paſſage: "Meaſure belongs *naturally* to "Poetry, as its Province is the Deſcription and *Language* "of the *Paſſions*; together with *Fiction* or Fable, which "*produce Numbers*. Hence it was that the Ancients (even "in their common Diſcourſe) uſed Meaſure and Verſe, "rather than Proſe [*b*]." It can hardly be neceſſary to obſerve, that the celebrated Critic, in this Paſſage, gives a mere *Affirmation* inſtead of an *Argument*. He ſays, indeed, "that the Language of the Paſſions, and Fiction, na-"turally produce Meaſure and Numbers:" But the Reaſon is ſtill to ſeek. It were to be wiſhed, that in many Parts of his Writings, he had not given us more Inſtances of his fine Taſte, than his Power of Reaſoning.

A learned Modern of our own Nation hath try'd his Talent in this curious Queſtion. "They (the Ancients) "thought, it would ſeem, that Language was the firſt "Tamer of Men; and took its Origin to have been cer-"tain rude accidental Sounds, which that naked Company

[*x*] *Comment. Real.* [*y*] LAFITAU. [*z*] BARTHOLIN. *de Contemptu Mortis*, &c. HICKES *Theſ. Septentr.* [*a*] SHERINGHAM *Orig. Gent. Angl.*

[*b*] LONGIN. *de Metr.*

"of

" of ſcrambling Mortals emitted by Chance. Upon this " Suppoſition it will follow, that at firſt they uttered theſe " Sounds in a *much higher Note* than we do our Words " now; occaſioned, *perhaps*, by their falling on them under " ſome Paſſion, Fear, Wonder, or Pain; and then uſing " the ſame Sound, either when the Object or Accident re- " curred, or when they wanted to deſcribe it by what they " felt from its Preſence. *Neither* the *Syllables* nor the " *Tone* could be *aſcertained:* but when prompted by the " Return of the Paſſion, under which they invented them, " they *extended* their *Throats* and put ſeveral of theſe " Marks together, they would *ſeem* to *ſing*. Hence αυδαειν " ſignified at firſt ſimply to *ſpeak*, or utter the Voice; " which now with a ſmall Abbreviation (αδειν) ſignifies to " *ſing:* And hence came the ancient Opinion, which ap- " pears ſo *ſtrange* to *Us*, that Poetry was before Proſe [c]." Here we ſee an ingenious Writer toiling in vain to prop a miſtaken Principle. For to omit all the weak Parts of the Paragraph which might expoſe it to ridicule, if neither *Syllables* nor *Tones* could be *aſcertained*, it follows, that neither *Meaſure* nor *Melody* could ariſe; and therefore it muſt even continue to appear as ſtrange as ever, " that Poetry ſhould be before Proſe."

Mr. DE VOLTAIRE talks more ſpeciouſly (after ARISTOTLE and PLUTARCH [d] on this Subject. " Before " HERODOTUS, even Hiſtory was not written but in Verſe " among the GREEKS, who had borrowed this Cuſtom " from the ancient EGYPTIANS, the wiſeſt, the beſt po- " liced, and the moſt knowing people upon Earth. This " Cuſtom was very *reaſonable:* for the End of Hiſtory " was to preſerve to Poſterity the *Memory* of thoſe few " great Men, whoſe Example might be of Service to Man- " kind. They only writ what was worthy of being re- " tained by Heart. This is the Reaſon why they laid " hold of the Harmony of *Verſe*; that they might aid the " *Memory*. And hence it was, that the firſt *Philoſophers*, " *Legiſlators*, and *Hiſtorians*, were all *Poets* [e]."

[c] *Enq. into the life* of HOMER, p. 38. [d] See the following Articles. [e] *Preface à Oedip.*

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As this is the moſt plauſible Reaſon that hath as yet been aſſigned for this myſterious Fact, it will deſerve a particular Conſideration. The Cauſe aſſigned ſeems, therefore, to reſt on no probable Foundation, for the following Reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe it ſeems to take for granted the Exiſtence of the very Thing which it is ſaid to have produced. If we ſuppoſe Rythm, Numbers, and Verſe, to exiſt and be in general Uſe, they would undoubtedly become the natural Means of Memory and Record among a barbarous People. But to *invent* the Vehicle of *Rythm*, from a *Foreſight* of its being the beſt Inſtrument of Memory, without any prior Impulſe from unaſſiſted Nature, ſeems altogether incompatible with the general Character of the ſavage Tribes: For in the Period of ſavage Manners, the Power of *abſtract Reaſoning* is always *weak*, and is often found to have *no Place*.

Again: The *Univerſality* of the Fact adds greatly to the Improbability of the cauſe aſſigned. Though we ſhould ſuppoſe it poſſible or probable, that one ſavage Chief might by Dint of Reaſon ſtrike out this new method of recording Hiſtory; yet that *All* ſavage Chiefs, in every known Age and Climate, ſhould *unite* in the *ſame* Contrivance, is highly improbable. If one of more exalted Capacity delivered his Stories in Verſe, *another* of inferior Reach and Invention would naturally give them to Poſterity in plain Proſe: Nay the acknowledged Difficulty of *Verſification* would naturally make the *proſaic* Manner the more *common*, though leſs effectual Method of the two, Now, the contrary to this is acknowledged to be true, even by thoſe who contend for the Truth and Sufficiency of the Cauſe aſſigned. The *Univerſality* of the Fact is allowed by All. Such an univerſal Coincidence, therefore, muſt ſpring from ſome other Cauſe, ſuch as ariſeth unalterably from Nature, and takes Place among the ſavage Tribes in an univerſal and unvaried Manner.

Farther: If the ancient Songs, prior to proſe in every Nation, had been *coolly compoſed*, for the Sake of *Tradition* and *Information only*, they would have been *circumſtantial* and *preciſe*: Whereas the contrary appears in their Conſtruction: They are generally *vague* and *enthuſiaſtic*; and bear

bear all the Marks of being the genuine Effects of ſavage *Paſſion* and *Enthuſiaſm*. So far are they from containing any regular *Series* of Facts, that Facts are often *hinted* only; while the mere *Celebration* of the Heroe forms the chief Weight and *Burthen* of the *Song*.

Laſtly, the univerſal Connection of the *old Poetry* with *Melody*, and the unvary'd Cuſtom of *ſinging it*, amounts to the ſtrongeſt Proof, that the mere End of *Memory* and *Tradition* could not be its original Cauſe. For had the ſole Intention of the Song been that of *Record only*, a *mere Recitation* of the Verſes would have anſwered the ſame Purpoſe. And we may affirm it to be a *moral Impoſſibility*, that an univerſal Union of Verſe and Melody could have taken Place on this Foundation.

Since, therefore, the Cauſe hitherto aſſigned ſeems altogether inadequate to the Effect; can we reaſonably entertain a Doubt, in reſolving it into that Principle which we have already univerſally predominant in ſavage Life? I mean, the natural Paſſion for *Melody* and *Dance*, which neceſſarily throws the accompanying *Song* into a *correſpondent Rythm*. Hence, the Uſe of Rythm and Verſe muſt naturally ariſe in GREECE (as in every other Country emerging from Barbarity) becauſe Melody, Dance, and Song, made a principal Employment of their ſavage State. And hence, their earlieſt Hiſtories muſt of courſe be written in Verſe; becauſe the Actions of their Gods and Heroes made a principal part of their Songs; and therefore, when the Uſe of Letters came among them, theſe ancient Songs were naturally *firſt* recorded, that is, they became their earlieſt *Hiſtories*, for the Information and Uſe of future Times.

As this Cauſe, when viewed in itſelf, ſeems amply and clearly to account for the Effect, ſo it will receive farther Confirmation, if we conſider how naturally it removes all thoſe Objections which load the Opinion here controverted. For it neither requires nor ſuppoſeth any Power of *abſtract Reaſoning* among the *ſavage* Tribes, but is the mere Effect of *Paſſion* and uncultivated Nature. Its Univerſality, therefore becomes highly probable; becauſe the Principles of ſavage Nature (making Allowance for the Difference

Difference of Soil and Climate) are every where the ſame. The *Genius* of the ancient Songs of every Nation adds new Degrees of Evidence: For they are generally irregular and enthuſiaſtic; and therefore the genuine Productions of *unlettered Enthuſiaſm*. Laſtly, their univerſal Connexion with *Melody*, and the unvary'd Practice of ſinging them, comes up to a full and direct Proof, of the Reality of the Cauſe now aſſigned.

It muſt not be diſguiſed, that the moſt learned VOSSIUS was ſo ſtruck with the Difficulty of accounting for this Appearance, that he thinks it beſt to deny the Fact. "To "me the contrary ſeems true; that Proſe was firſt writ-"ten, and then Poetry. Tis natural to walk on Foot "before we mount on Horſeback; and it is certain that "Men firſt *ſpoke* in *Proſe* and *then* in *Numbers*. We have "nothing more ancient than the Writings of MOSES; "and theſe are in Proſe, with Songs intermixed [*f*]." On this Reaſoning it may be remarked, that although it be certain that Men *ſpoke* in *Proſe* before they *ſpoke* in *Verſe*; yet the Conſequence follows not, that therefore they muſt *write* in *Proſe* before they *writ* in *Verſe*. The ſole Queſtion is, what wou'd be deemed beſt worth recording, on the firſt Riſe of the *writing Art?* Surely, the Actions and Celebrations of their Anceſtors, Gods, and Heroes: Now theſe, we have already ſeen, muſt naturally make the chief Subject of their feſtal Songs; and therefore their *feſtal Songs* were of Courſe the *firſt* things *written* or *recorded*.

With reſpect to the Inſtance alledged by the learned Critic, of the Writings of MOSES, and the Practice of ancient EGYPT, this, when properly explained, will confirm the Truth of the Cauſe here given. MOSES, we know, was learned in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians:* EGYPT was, in his Time, become a *poliſhed Nation*; and therefore, according to the natural Courſe of Things (as will appear below) *Proſe* had been introduced before the Time of MOSES, as it was afterwards in GREECE by HECATÆUS and others. As to the intermixed Songs in the Writings of MOSES, it is now a Point agreed among the

[*f*] *De Artis Poët. Nat. et Conſt.* c. i.

Learned,

Learned, that they are written in *Meaſure*; and correſpond in all Reſpects with the Principle here delivered. And that *Song* was the oldeſt Form of Compoſition in EGYPT, we learn clearly from two ancient Writers: The Firſt informs us, that their Muſic and Songs had continued unchang'd, for upwards of three thouſand Years [*g*]: The other gives a more particular Account of their Nature, and Manner of being ſung. "The firſt of the Prieſts who "uſed to appear in the religious Proceſſion, was a *Choragus*, "*Bard*, or *Singer*, who carried the Symbol of Muſic, and "could repeat by Heart the two firſt Books of MERCURY; the firſt containing *Hymns* in Honour of the Gods; "the ſecond containing *Sentences* or *Maxims* for the "Conduct of Kings [*b*]."

6. "Their moſt ancient *Maxims*, *Exhortations*, *Proverbs*, or *Laws* were written in *Verſe*." Having traced the Antiquity of *Song* and *poetic Hiſtory* to its true and natural Cauſe, the preſent Article will be of eaſy Diſcuſſion. For as the Greek Songs and poetic Stories were fraught with the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes, ſo *Maxims* of *Exhortation*, which in barbarous Countries hold the Place of *Laws*, muſt of Courſe make a Part of theſe public Songs, muſt by Degrees be ſelected from them, and in time be appealed to, as the *Standard* of *Right* and *Wrong*.

However, as ARISTOTLE hath hinted at another Cauſe, the ſlighteſt Conjecture of ſo great a name muſt not paſs unnoticed. He puts the Queſtion thus. Why are many "*Songs* called by the name of *Laws*? Was it becauſe, be"fore the Invention of the Art of Writing, *Laws* were "*ſung*, leſt they ſhould be *forgotten* [*i*]?" On this Paſſage it will be only neceſſary to remark, Firſt, that the Opinion is delivered as a mere Conjecture. Secondly, that all the

[*g*] PLATO *de Rep.* l. vii. [*b*] CLEMENS ALEXANDR. *Stromat.* l. vi.

[*i*] *Problem.* Sect. xix. Art. 28. He is followed in this Opinion by the learned Mr. GOGUET, in his late Book on Laws and Government. "The earlieſt Legiſlators "ſet their Laws to Muſic, that they might be more eaſily "retained." *Tom.* ii. *L. i. Art.* 8.

Difficulties

Difficulties which load the common opinion concerning the firſt Riſe of *poetic Hiſtory*, lie equally heavy upon *this*: And laſtly, that the ſame Solution leads us up to the true Cauſe on the natural Principles of the *ſavage Song-Feaſt*. This Solution may, perhaps, in the opinion of ſome, receive additional Confirmation from the concurrent Authority of CASAUBON; who declares it his Belief (though he aſſigns no Reaſon) that the Songs called *Nomoi* were *Fragments* of ancient Poetry, which had been ſelected and preſerved on Account of their Utility [*i*].

7. "Their earlieſt *religious Rites* were performed or ac-" companied by *Dance* and *Song*."—The *Orgies* of BACCHUS, celebrated in this Manner, were famed through all the Ages of Antiquity. STRABO tells us, that "the " *Greeks* retained the Cuſtom *common* to the *Barbarians*, " of celebrating their Sacrifices to the Gods with Muſic, " conſiſting of Dance, Melody, and Song:" And highly extols this Practice, " as tending to unite the Soul with " God [*k*]." PLUTARCH adds his Teſtimony, and informs us, that in GREECE "the firſt Application of Muſic " was to religious Ceremonies in Honour of the Gods[*l*]." All this flows naturally from the view we have given of ſavage Life and Manners: For we have ſeen that the Praiſes of their Chiefs are the moſt general Topic of the ſavage Dance and Song. and the *Grecian Gods* were no other than their *deceaſed Chieftains*.

8. "Their earlieſt *Oracles* were delivered in Verſe, and " ſung by the Prieſt or Prieſteſs of the ſuppoſed God." The natural Cauſe of this Fact hath been aſſigned in the Article which correſponds with this. The ancients knew and confeſſed the Fact, but were ſo intirely ignorant of the true cauſe, that they *laboured* more in this Point, than even in accounting for the Riſe of *poetic Hiſtory* and *Laws*. This will appear from PLUTARCH, who hath written a Diſcourſe on the following Queſtion, "Why the PYTHIA " no longer gives her Oracles in Verſe?" Now, before he

[*i*] *In* LAERT. [*k*] STRABO.
[*l*] PLUT. *de Muſica*.

aſſigned

aſſigned the Cauſes why this Practice of *Oracular Verſe* had *ceaſed*, it was natural that he ſhould inquire how it firſt *began*: and the cauſes (if ſuch they may be called) which he aſſigns, are theſe.

Firſt, "The ancient Times produced a Race of Men, "who had naturally, and from *bodily Temperament*, a "ſtronger turn for Poetry." "Secondly, there was a "Time, when, inſtead of the Art of Writing, Men "uſed Metre, Verſe, or Songs; adapting Hiſtory, and "other the weightieſt Subjects, to Poetry and Muſic." "Thus they celebrated the Gods; and told their Fables "in Verſe, ſome through the Force of *Genius*, and others "by the Power of *Cuſtom*" "Therefore the God "permitted the Application of Verſe and Song to "his Oracles, and would not drive the Muſes from his "Tripod." Thirdly, "The Utility of Poetry is in no-"thing more conſpicuous, than in its Aſſiſtance to the "*Memory*, by the Means of Numbers. The Ancients "had great Need of This, beyond the Moderns, becauſe "the Oracles referred to Perſons, Things, and Places, "which were often unknown to them [*m*]."

Thus the learned PLUTARCH; whoſe weak Reaſonings (weak becauſe he wanted Facts to lead him to the Truth) hardly need a Confutation. For how came it ſo to paſs, that the firſt Race of Men were by *natural bodily Temperament* of a *ſtronger Turn* to *Poetry?* How came it ſo to paſs, that they told their Fables in Verſe, ſome by the Force of *Genius*, others by the Power of *Cuſtom?* Theſe Affirmations take for granted the very Point in Queſtion.

With Reſpect to the laſt Reaſon which the great Author aſſigns, "The Utility of Numbers, as an Aſſiſtance to the "Memory;" This, when applied to *Oracles*, is not only incumbered with all the Difficulties which load the common Syſtem concerning the Origin of *poetic Hiſtory* and *Laws*; but is contrary to the clear Evidence of Facts, which aſſure us that the earlieſt poetic Oracles were the Effect of *Enthuſiaſm*. For APOLLO, the God of *Muſic*, was their Author;

[*m*] PLUT. *Diſſ. Cur nunc Pythia non reddat oracula carmine.*

The

The *Pythia* or *Prieſteſs* was his *Vicegerent*; and PAUSANIAS informs us, that PHÆMONOE (the Siſter of APOLLO) was the firſt Prieſteſs; and that "ſhe delivered her pro-"phetic Inſpirations with frantic Geſtures *(Dance)* and in "heroic *Verſe* or *Song* [*n*]." PLUTARCH tells us farther concerning this *ſavage Heroine*, that "ſhe is ſaid to have "*celebrated Herſelf* in her *Songs*; and boaſted, that ſhe "ſhould not ceaſe to prophecy after her Death: That ſhe "would aſcend to the Moon, and be metamorphoſed into "that Face which we ſee in the Moon's Body [*o*]." Theſe Paſſages, compared with what hath here been delivered on the *ſavage Song-Feaſts*, unveil the true Origin of the old *poetic Oracles* of GREECE. Hence it appears why the God's Vicegerent was a *Woman*: For his own *Siſter* firſt aſſumed that Office, and was naturally ſucceeded by one of *her own Sex* And the whole Account of her *Self-Celebrations*, her frantic *Geſtures*, *Verſe*, and *Song*, contains a true Picture of an *enthuſiaſtic Savage:* For it appears above, "that Muſic, Dance, and Song, are one of the "common Modes of *Divination*, among the ſavage "IROQUOIS [*p*]."

9. "Their *Melody* was *ſimple*; and derived a conſider-"able Part of its Power from its *Rythm* or Meaſure, with-"out any Mixture of *artificial Compoſition*." Much hath been ſaid on this Subject, in ſupport of the contrary Opinion; and with a View of proving, that the ancient Melody which wrought ſuch Wonders in GREECE, was learned, artificial, and complex. With others, an Author no leſs conſiderable than Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE hath concurred in that Opinion [*q*]: And all the Writers on this Subject ſeem to have given us a Parade of Words without any determinate Ideas annexed to them. I ſhall therefore, firſt, aſſign the Reaſons why it appears to me, that we have no adequate Idea of the ancient GREEK Melody; and then, ſhall collect certain collateral circumſtances, which may prove, that although we are ignorant of its particular Nature, yet that it was of a *ſimple* and *inartificial* Conſtruction.

[*n*] PAUS. in *Phocicis.* [*o*] *Loco ſupra citato.*
[*p*] See the Paſſage from LAFITAU. [*q*] *On Poetry*, &c.

Firſt,

First, with reſpect to the three *Genera* or *Kinds* of the *Greek Melody*; as they are delivered and interpreted by the Writers on ancient Muſic, they are incompatible with all thoſe Intervals and Progreſſions of Sound which are agreeable to the human Ear.

As to the *Enharmonic* Kind, it is confeſſedly impracticable. For it is ſaid to have proceeded by two *Dieſes* or *Quarter-Notes*; (with a ſtated intermixture of two whole Tones) an Interval which no human Ear can preciſely diſtinguiſh, nor any human Voice preciſely follow. This Fact is ſo notorious, and ſtrikes ſo ſtrongly on the Senſes, that the Bigots to the ancient Melody have generally been ſilent on it, or at moſt, have revered it as a profound Myſtery. The ABBE DU BOS may be regarded as an Exception to this general Remark: For He is of Opinion, that the Progreſſion of the Voice by *Quarter-Notes* might be in general Uſe in the theatrical Declamation [*r*]. To this it may be ſufficient to reply, that the ABBE confeſſeth himſelf ignorant of the Principles of Muſic [*s*], and that this Opinion is a Proof of his being ſo. The Quarter-Note is a Progreſſion which, although an *Italian* CASTRATO (who hath laboured at this Refinement through his whole Life) may *nearly* and *incidentally* accompliſh; yet even *He* ſhall never be able *ſtrictly* to practiſe in the *general Courſe* of his Performance: But it is a Progreſſion, equally impracticable to the Voice, and ſhocking to the Ear of the Generality of Mankind.

The *Chromatic* ſeems, at firſt View, to be more intelligible; as it is generally ſaid to have proceeded by *Half-Notes*, of which the human Ear hath an adequate and preciſe Conception. But This too, on a nearer Examination, will be found abſolutely at Variance with that which We ſtile the *Chromatic*; (though by moſt modern Writers it is ſuppoſed to be the ſame) and altogether incompatible with thoſe Progreſſions of Sound into which a modern Voice can fall. For the modern *Chromatic* Kind is an *incidental* Aſcent or Deſcent by Half-Notes, with a variable Intervention of whole Notes, introduced, under certain Reſtrictions, at the Compoſer's Will:

[*r*] *Reflex. Crit. Part.* iii. c. ix. [*s*] Ibid.

But

But the ancient *Chromatic*, as delivered by the Writers on this Subject, was an *unvaried* Progreſſion by two *Half-Notes*, and a *Third* either greater or leſs [*t*].

The *Diatonic* Kind, according to the Common Conception of it, is perfectly underſtood; and is generally ſaid to be the ſame with that in which our Modern Muſic is commonly compoſed: Yet nothing is leſs true than this: For our common Scale is a Progreſſion of whole Notes, with the Intermixture of two half Notes only, and theſe at the Diſtance of a *fifth* from each other in the *ſharp* Key, and a *fourth* from each other in the *flat* Key: Whereas in the ancient Diatonic Scale it is quite otherwiſe: For There, *one Semitone* and *two whole Tones* are ordained to ſucceed each other *invariably*: A Circumſtance utterly incompatible with the modern *Diatonic* Scale.

The Conſequence drawn from theſe Reaſonings, is not, that the Ancients talked or practiſed abſurdly; or that the Moderns want Ears or Underſtanding; but only This, that we do not adequately underſtand the Terms.

What leads me farther to believe this, is a circumſtance in the *Spartan* Decree againſt TIMOTHEUS (given at large below) where it is ſaid, that he corrupted the *Simplicity* of the *Enharmonic*, and introduced the *Refinements* of the *Chromatic*. Now this is an abſolute Contradiction to All that we underſtand concerning the Nature of theſe two Kinds. For, as the *Diatonic*, which proceeds by whole Tones, is more ſimple than the *Chromatic*, which proceeds by *Half-Tones*; ſo This in its Turn is more ſimple than the *Enharmonic*, which is ſaid to have proceeded by *Quarter-Tones*: All which is in direct Contradiction to the Tenor of the *Spartan* Decree.

Secondly, with Regard to the various *Modes* of ancient Melody, we are often as much in the dark. We read of no leſs than fifteen, introduced at different Periods; but the Commentators on the ancient Writers upon this Subject, are at Variance with each other, concerning the Na-

[*t*] See ALYPIUS; at the End of the *Phænomena* of ARATUS: to whom I refer for the Truth of theſe Remarks on the three *Genera*.

ture and Uſe of theſe different Modes. Some are of Opinion, that the Difference lay in the Degree of *Gravity* or *Acuteneſs* only: Others maintain, that the Mode ſignified the *Rythm* or *Meaſure:* Others again, that the Eſſence of the *Mode* conſiſted in a *different Species* of *Diapaſon.* There is Reaſon to believe, that the Word was uſed at various Times, and by different Writers, in all theſe Senſes, and that each of theſe Authors may be right in his Turn. From the Deſcription of an Inſtrument given by ATHENÆUS it appears, that by *Mode* was ſometimes meant *Gravity* or *Acuteneſs* of Sound: For he tells us, that the Muſician had three Lyres placed on a moveable Tripod which turned on an Axis; and that by whirling it round with his Foot, he could inſtantly play in three various Modes [*u*]. That *Mode* was ſometimes uſed for *Meaſure*, ſeems evident, becauſe in a Fragment of an ancient Author cited by ATHENÆUS, we read that a *Hymn* was written in the *Lydian Mode* [*w*]; which can only mean, the *Lydian Meaſure.* And as *Mode* was applied to Numbers, ſo was it likewiſe to *Dance:* The *Ionici Motus*, which ancient Writers ſpeak of, are a clear Proof of This. That *Mode* was uſed in the third of theſe Acceptations, as a particular *Species* of *Diapaſon*, hath been made clear by a late Writer, in a judicious and accurate Treatiſe [*x*]. Thus by the promiſcuous Uſe of the Word Mode, ſignifying either *Pitch*, *Meaſure*, or *Species* of *Diapaſon*, it hath come to paſs, that ſome times the Signification of the Word is *clear*, at others it is only *probable*, often it is *obſcure* and *doubtful.*

Thirdly, to complete our Ignorance of the particular Nature of their Melody, the Conſtruction of their Muſical Inſtruments is unknown. We only know that the Chords of the Lyre were augmented gradually from *four* to *forty:* but whether the Strings aſcended by Quarter-Notes, Half-Notes, whole Notes, or by larger Intervals, of all this we know nothing certain. Our ignorance of their Pipes or Flutes is not leſs remarkable. Commentators and Critics

[*u*] L. xiv. [*w*] Ibid. [*x*] By Sir FR. EYLES STILES.

ring

ring Changes on their ſingle, double, oblique, right-handed, and left-handed Flutes; but what was their preciſe Make, Tone, Compaſs, or Powers, theſe Gentlemen, cannot with any Certainty, inform us. The learned ISAAC VOSSIUS is one of the warmeſt Champions for the Excellence of ancient Inſtruments: but whoever reads him without Partiality, will find all his Endeavours amount to no more than what is here affirmed [*y*].

Since, therefore, the particular Nature and Conſtruction of the ancient Melody is utterly unknown to us; we muſt have Recourſe to collateral Proofs, drawn from Facts which were connected with this unknown Melody; and from Theſe we may, I think, indirectly arrive ſo far at a Knowledge of its *general* Character, as to conclude with Certainty, that in the *early* Periods (in which *Muſic* boaſted its *greateſt Power*) the ruling Character of the *Melody* was that of *Simplicity*; and that it derived a chief Part of its *Force* from its mere *Rythm* or *Meaſure*.

Simplicity was its ruling Character; becauſe we find that *Muſic* had *then* its greateſt Power, when the *Melody* was moſt *confined* in its *Compaſs*. MERCURY was the Inventor of the *Lyre*; which had but *four* Strings, and theſe were ſtretched on a Turtle's Shell [*z*]. AMPHION was his Diſciple, and increaſed the Number of Strings to *ſeven* [*a*]. APOLLO contented himſelf with the ſame Compaſs of Notes; and ſo did ORPHEUS [*b*]. This Number of Strings continued to be eſtabliſhed by Law at SPARTA, ſo late as the age of TIMOTHEUS, who attempted an Innovation of *four* more, and was puniſhed for it [*c*]. Yet all the mighty Effects and Powers of *Muſic*, which we read of in ancient GREECE, aroſe within this Period, and while the *Melody* was confined within this ſmall Compaſs.

The Lyre, therefore, in its moſt ancient Forms, being incapable either of a great Variety, or a multifarious Com-

[*y*] *De Poem. Cantu*, &c. [*z*] PAUSANIAS, l. ix. [*a*] Ibid. [*b*] Ibid.

[*c*] See the *Spartan* Decree againſt TIMOTHEUS, given at large below.

bination of Sounds; a ſtrong Probability ariſeth from its very Nature, that *Counterpoint*, or an artificial Compoſition in *various Parts*, was altogether unknown. It appears to me (from many paſſages of ancient Authors compared together, but too long to inſert here) that the Ancients ſung and played firſt in Uniſons, Octaves, and Fifteenths; then in Thirds and Tenths; and in the later Periods in Fourths and Fifths, as appears from PLUTARCH; though in ARISTOTLE's Time, it is evident, theſe laſt were not practiſed. It is likewiſe evident, that in the later Periods the *inſtrumental Accompanyment* was different from the *Song*; yet this only in the Way of *Diviſion* upon the *fundamental Notes*. Farther than theſe Methods of *redoubling* or *dividing* the ſame Melody, I find nothing like Compoſition in *various Parts*.

On the contrary, there are many Reaſons which may convince us, that nothing like the modern *Counterpoint* was known to the Ancients. The Silence of all their Muſical Writers collected by MEIBOMIUS, on this great Article, is a Proof ſufficient that they were ignorant of it. Their Diviſions of the muſical Art are preciſe and ſyſtematical; and therefore, if this had made a Part of it, as its Rules muſt have been more complex than thoſe of any other Branch, beyond all Doubt, they would have been diſtinctly treated of.

The ſame Conſequence ſeems clearly to ariſe from a Paſſage in ARISTOTLE, who ſays, that "it is much eaſier "to keep the *Time* in Muſic, when a Number ſing toge- "ther, than when a ſingle Voice only ſings [*d*]:" Which is true, if we ſuppoſe a numerous Choir to ſing the ſame Part, becauſe one Voice tends to correct the Inequalities of another; but in direct Contradiction to the Truth, if we ſuppoſe them to ſing in Counterpoint; becauſe, here, the various Parts have a Tendency to confound each other.

Their ignorance of Counterpoint appears farther from hence, that no difference is remarked between the Compoſitions for the *Flute* and thoſe for the *Lyre*, with reſpect to the *Multiplicity* of *Parts*. One Inſtrument they uſed,

[*d*] *Probl.* Sect. xix.

which

which had two Strings to every Note, and theſe two were tuned in *thirds* to each other: This Inſtrument was called the *Magadis*; and even this diſtant Approach towards playing in Counterpoint was regarded as a Thing ſo ſingular, that to play in *thirds* was called μαγαδιζειν. If therefore any other Kind of Performance had been uſed more complex than this, it muſt have been noted as a Circumſtance ſtill more ſingular.

It appears farther, that in HOMER's Hymn to MERCURY, the Poet repreſents APOLLO as holding his Lyre in one Hand, and playing with a *Plectrum* with the other. In an ancient Sculpture which repreſents the Deification of HOMER, ſome of the Figures which dance, are at the ſame Time playing on the Lyre, which they hold with one Hand, and ſtrike with the other. Thus too, when SOPHOCLES played on the Lyre, and at the ſame time led the Dance [*e*], he muſt have managed his Inſtrument in the ſame Manner. And again, it appears, that even in the latter Periods, the moſt celebrated Lyriſts played with *one Plectrum* [*f*]. Now, all theſe Circumſtances center in the Proof of this, that the Melody which they played was *ſingle*.

We may farther obſerve, that their muſical *Notation* (ſo far as it is ſuppoſed to be underſtood) generally implies a

[*e*] *Deipnoſoph.* l. i.

[*f*] Ibid. l. xiv. They ſometimes touched the String with a *Plectrum*, ſometimes with the *Finger*. But that the Cuſtom of playing with the *Plectrum* was the more ancient, appears from a curious Fact related by H. STEPHENS from PLUTARCH, "that the *Spartans* puniſhed a "Lyriſt for the *Innovation* of playing with his *Finger*." [Theſ. Ling. Græc. Voc. κιθαριζω.] VIRGIL introduceth MUSÆUS, as playing in both theſe Ways in the *Elyſian* Fields: —"Nunc *Digito*, nunc *Pectine* pulſat eburno"— But this proves little more than that *Both* were in Uſe in the Time of VIRGIL — 'Tis certain, that on the firſt rude Formation of Inſtruments, the *Plectrum* would give the more clear and effectual Stroke: As Inſtruments grew more delicate, the *Finger* would come into Uſe. This (as will appear below, Art. 33.) explains the Foundation of the *Spartan* Conduct.

ſingle, and that a very inartificial Species of Compoſition. Nay, the Letters which compoſed their muſical Notation ſeem very inadequately to expreſs even a *ſingle* Part, did not the *Meaſure* of the *Verſe* in ſome Degree fix that of the *Melody*.

Add to all theſe Arguments, this farther Confirmation, that their Poets (who were generally at the ſame Time Warriors, Prieſts, or Stateſmen) not only compoſed the Melody to their own Verſes, but in the early Periods, played and ſung them at their Feſtivals: And that People of all Ages and Degrees were commonly able to bear a Part in the Chorus, both in public and private Entertainments. All theſe concurrent Circumſtances center in one ſufficient and ſatisfactory Proof, that their *Melody* was not only *ſingle*, but of the moſt *ſimple Conſtruction*.

One Kind of *Addition* did undoubtedly in many Inſtances take Place: I mean that of the *Tympanum*, the *Siſtrum*, or the *Cymbal* added as an unvaried *Groundwork*, and accommodated to the *Meaſure* of the *ruling Melody*: But this was no more than the modern *Drum* added to the *Fife* or *Trumpet*, the *Tabor* to the *Pipe*, or the *Drone* to the *Bag-Pipe*: A Kind of Addition which we find in the Muſic of almoſt every barbarous Country.

Since therefore it appears, that the Force of the ancient *Greek* Melody conſiſted neither in its *Compaſs*, its *Multiplicity* of *Parts*, nor its *artificial* Conſtruction; let us now proceed to conſider the only Circumſtance from which its chief Power could ariſe, I mean, its *Rythm* or *Meaſure*. That this was its real Source, may be evident from the following Conſiderations.

Firſt, The *Greek* Language was admirably fitted for a various and powerful *Rythm* or *Meaſure*, by its Variety of *Feet*: which, when thrown into all their different Combinations, formed ſuch a Variety of *Numbers*, as gave Room for an equal and correſpondent Variety of *Meaſure* in the annexed *Melody*, beyond any other Language in the known World. When, therefore, ſuch a Language offered itſelf as an Aſſiſtant to the Muſician's Art, it was altogether natural that he ſhould accommodate his Melody to the peculiar and happy Genius of his Native Tongue.

Secondly,

Secondly, ſuch a Melody as this, marked by ſtrong Changes and Varieties of Meaſure, muſt have greater Effects than the moſt extenſive or moſt artificial Melody when unaſſiſted by it. This argument is well purſued by the learned ISAAC VOSSIUS: I ſhall therefore give it in his own Words; the rather, becauſe it is the moſt judicious and philoſophic Paſſage in his whole Work; and contains as it were the *Kernel* of a large Tract; a conſiderable Part of which, it muſt be owned, may juſtly be thrown aſide as *Huſk* and *Shell*.

" Wherefore, I cannot enough wonder at thoſe who in " the preſent and paſt Age have written on Muſic; that " while they diligently explained other Things, they ſhould " either have ſaid nothing on *Rythm*, or elſe written in " ſuch a Manner, as to prove themſelves ignorant of its " Nature. They confine themſelves entirely to *Counter-* " *point*, neglecting that which is principal in Melody.— " For certainly, as neither an *Unit* can produce *Number*, " nor a *ſingle Word* make *Senſe*; ſo neither can any *ſingle* " *Sound*, ſeparately conſidered, have any *Power*: Or if it " hath, it muſt be very inconſiderable. For what Effect " in moving the Paſſions can ariſe from the Colliſion of " Stones or Wood, or even from the ſtriking of one String, " if *Numbers* and *Rythm* be wanting, and we hear nothing " but a mere Sound [*g*]? Or if we compound various " Sounds, and theſe be even harmonic and concordant, not " even This will produce any Effect. Such an Harmony " of Sounds may pleaſe the Ear; but the Pleaſure will only " be ſuch, as if Words were (agreeably) ſpoken, which " are either unmeaning or not underſtood. That the Soul " may be affected, it is neceſſary that the Sound ſhould " imply, or bring before us, ſomething which we can " comprehend. That Sounds, therefore may have their " full Effect, the Melody muſt be animated by ſuch Move- " ments, as contain in themſelves the *Repreſentations* or " *Images* of thoſe Things which we mean to *expreſs* or

[*g*] The learned Writer is miſtaken in this Paragraph. The mere Sound of *Thunder* excites *Fear*; other Sounds excite *Sorrow*; others *Joy*. See the next Article.

" *imitate* by Song: And This if we can do, we may be " ſure to command the Paſſions of the Soul. But that we " may indeed catch and call forth theſe *Images*, we muſt " employ that Variety of Muſical *Feet*, in which are ſo " fully contained all the ſeveral Kinds of Movements, that " no Affection can be conceived, which they do not moſt " exactly expreſs. For the Expreſſion of light and voluble " Motions, as of the Dances of *Satyrs*, the *Pyrrichius* and " *Tribrachys* are proper: The *grave* and *ſlow* are ex- " preſſed by the *Spondee* and *Moloſſus*: Whatever is *ſoft* " and *tender*, the *Trochee*, and ſometimes the *Amphibrachys* " will deſcribe, which itſelf moves with a broken and ef- " feminate Pace. The *Iambic* is fierce and vehement; and " the *Anapæſt* nearly of the ſame Nature, as it imitates " violent and warlike Motions. If we mean to expreſs " what is *chearful* and *joyous*, we muſt employ the *Dactyl*, " whoſe Movements are of a correſpondent Nature. " Whatever is *hard* and *rugged*, the *Antiſpaſt* will hap- " pily deſcribe. If we require Numbers that may ex- " preſs *Fury* and *Madneſs*, not only the *Anapæſt* is at Hand, " but what is ſtill more powerful, the *Pæon quartus*.—Of " theſe various Meaſures, artificially combined, did the " ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Muſic conſiſt: And while this " flouriſhed, ſo long did Muſic maintain its Empire over " the Paſſions [*b*].' Thus the learned VOSSIUS: Whoſe Admiration of the Rythm of the ancient Melody leads him into ſome falſe Concluſions, as will appear below. In the mean Time, this general Exhibition of the Genius of the Greek *Numbers* may ſtand as a farther accumulative Proof, that the Power of the ancient *Melody*, which was univerſally accommodated to this *Variety* of *expreſſive Numbers*, lay chiefly in its *Rythm* or *Meaſure*.

Laſtly, theſe Arguments are much confirmed by the expreſs Teſtimony of PLUTARCH; who ſpeaking of the Variations which the Genius of ancient Muſic had undergone in the Progreſs of Time, ſays, " If we compare An- " tiquity with the preſent Times, we ſhall find, that in " ancient Days, there was a great Variety of *Meaſure*, and

[*b*] VOSSIUS *de Poem. Cantu et Viribus Rythmi*, p. 72.

" this

" this Variety often employed. For in that early Period, " the Variety of *Feet* and *Time* was more highly eſteemed: " *We* now ſtudy and attend to Variety of *Modes*, the *An-* " *cients* to Variety of *Rythm* or *Meaſure* [*i*]." This Change he regards as one of the Corruptions of Melody; he gives an Account of the Inventors of the ſeveral *new Modes*, MELANIPPIDES, PHILOXENUS, TIMOTHEUS, and others; and inſiſts, that the Art, which formerly had ſuch Power in the Education of Youth, was now ſunk into a mere Amuſement of the Theatre [*k*]. A clear and full Indication, that the ancient *Greeks* relied on *Meaſure* or *Rythm* for the *Force* of their *Melody*; and that as it grew *more artificial*, it grew leſs powerful. Theſe Facts fully coincide with the Reaſons given above, on which this Article is founded; " Becauſe a Simplicity of Melody, whoſe Power " aroſe from mere Rythm or Meaſure, was moſt ſuited " to the Powers of the firſt barbarous Legiſlators or Bards, " as well as to the Capacity of the ſurrounding People."

10. " The Force of this ſimple Melody was much in- " creaſed by the Power of *early Aſſociation* and *continued* " *Habit*. For This, by appropriating certain Sounds to " certain Subjects, raiſed their Melody into a Kind of " natural and expreſſive Language of the Paſſions."—In the firſt rude Eſſays towards an expreſſive Melody in barbarous Countries, certain imperfect Modes of Sound muſt of Courſe be applied, as being expreſſive of certain Subjects or Paſſions. The ſucceeding Generation will be naturally bred up to a like Application of the ſame Sounds. Hence theſe Modes of Melody, though *imperfect* in Expreſſion, being impreſſed on *infant Minds* with all the Force of an early Application, muſt acquire a Power over *Theſe*, which unaccuſtomed Minds can never feel. Thus certain Sounds being appropriated by Uſe, and having become the common Indications of Grief, Terror, Joy, Pity, Rage, or any other Paſſion, will naturally excite their reſpective Affections among thoſe who have adopted them; while a Hearer from another Country, whoſe Aſſociations and Habits are different, will be *little*, or, if at all, perhaps very

[*i*] *De Muſica.* [*k*] Ibid.

differently affected by them. LATIFAU's Account of the Muſic of the *Iroquois* is a clear confirmation of this Truth: "The Muſic and Dance of the *Americans* have ſomething "in them extremely *barbarous*, which at firſt *diſguſts*: "We grow *reconciled* to them *by Degrees*, and in the "*End* partake of them with *Pleaſure*. As to the Savages "themſelves, they are *fond* of them even to *Diſtraction* [*l*]' What we are told of the *Swiſs* Song gives additional Confirmation to this Principle. This Song, which to foreign Ears is uncouth and barbarous, hath ſuch an Effect on the Natives of SWITZERLAND, among whom it is generally taught and impreſſed on the infant Mind, that it is forbid to be ſung among their Regiments hired in the Service of other Nations, leſt it ſhould tempt them to deſert, and return to their own Country. The *Jews*, *Chineſe*, *Germans*, *French*, *Italians*, have all ſome peculiar Appropriations of a ſimilar Nature, which gives their native Muſic a general Power, which no other Muſic can ever obtain. Among ourſelves, the Sound of *Bells*, *Drums*, *Organs*, *Trumpets*, have all an Appropriation of the ſame Nature: And a *Highlander* has the ſame *warlike* Ideas annexed to the Sound of a *Bagpipe* (an inſtrument which an *Engliſhman* derides) as the *Engliſhman* has to that of a *Trumpet* or a *Fife*. MELODY therefore is to be conſidered as a *relative* thing, founded in the particular Aſſociations and Habits of each People; and by Cuſtom (like Language) annexed to their Sentiments and Paſſions: Thus it becomes the natural Vehicle of theſe Sentiments and Paſſions; but a Vehicle, which can never extend farther than to Thoſe, upon whom ſuch particular Impreſſions have been made. This, added to the Power of *Rythm*, affords a natural Solution to the Difficulties raiſed concerning the Power of the *Greek* Melody: for as it was taught and impreſſed on the infant Mind by early and continued Application (as will immediately appear) ſo it naturally acquired the Power of a *Language* of the *Paſſions*, which, with Reſpect to other Nations, if it now exiſted, it would not poſſeſs.

[*l*] See above, Sect. ii.

There

There is a collateral Argument often urged in Favour of the artificial Excellence of the ancient *Greek Melody*; and drawn from what we know of the Elegance and Perfection of ancient *Greek Sculpture*. But the Weakneſs of this Argument will appear from the Principles here given; the Effects of the two Arts being by no means *parallel*, but rather contrary to each other. The *Excellence* of *Sculpture* is the Effect of repeated Experience, which refers itſelf to the Works of Nature, as to its Archetype: And the Pleaſure ariſing from the Contemplation of this Art conſiſts in ſeeing the Perfection of the Imitation; and is the Reſult of a fine Taſte, founded on a correct Judgment. But the *Force* of *Melody* on the Paſſions depends not on its artificial Conſtruction or Elegance, but ſolely on its being adapted to the Feelings, Paſſions, and Conceptions of the Hearer, be they juſt or falſe, poliſhed or barbarous. Hence we ſhall find, that the *Force* of the two Arts will be generally in an *inverſe Proportion*. For the *Attention* to *Sculpture*, being founded on a *reflex Act* of the Underſtanding, will always increaſe with increaſing Taſte and Knowledge: But the *Power* of *Melody*, being founded in *Paſſion*, will *there* be moſt general and ſtrong, where Fear, Joy, Wonder, Terror, and Aſtoniſhment, are moſt eaſily and moſt frequently excited: And it is certain, theſe natural Paſſions are not ſo common in a State highly poliſhed, as in that of Barbarity or ſimple Civilization. 'Tis granted indeed, nay inſiſted on, that the ancient Melody grew more artificial in the later Periods: But the ſame Authors who inform us of this [*m*], aſſure us that its Power was greateſt in the early and barbarous Times; that this Power continued longeſt in that Society which continued longeſt in Barbarity, I mean the Commonwealth of SPARTA; and that as it grew more artificial, it degenerated every where into a mere Amuſement, and loſt its Influence on the Paſſions and the Mind.

11. "Their *Songs* were of a *legiſlative* Caſt; and being "drawn chiefly from the Fables or Hiſtory of their own "Country, contained the eſſential Parts of their *religious*, "*political* and *moral*, Syſtems." We have ſeen above, that

[*m*] ARISTOTLE, PLUTARCH, and others.

the

the Celebration of their deceaſed Heroes became naturally a *religious Act*: That the *Maxims* or *Exhortations* intermixed with theſe, and founded on the *Example* of their Heroe-Gods, became of Courſe the *Standard* of *Right* and *Wrong*, that is, the Foundation of *private Morals* and of *public Law*; and thus the whole Fabric of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*, aroſe naturally from their *Song-Feaſts*, in their Progreſs from *ſavage* to *civilized* Life.

The Records that remain concerning the *Bards* of ancient GREECE unite in confirming this Principle. Of this illuſtrious Catalogue, LINUS was perhaps the firſt: He writ the Exploits of the firſt BACCHUS; and ſung the Generation of the World and the Riſe of Things [*n*]. PAMPHO is ſuppoſed to have been his Diſciple: And he compoſed *Hymns* in Honour of the Gods; and ſung the Rape of PROSERPINE by PLUTO [*o*].

The next great poetic and muſical Sage was ORPHEUS: He is ſaid to have ſung of *Chaos* and *Creation*; and a Variety of other Subjects *religious* and *philoſophical* [*p*]. Some fine Fragments remain under his Name: but there is Reaſon, from ſome internal Marks in the Compoſition, to believe them ſpurious.

MUSÆUS is ſaid to have been the Diſciple of ORPHEUS: He, too, writ *Hymns* and *Prophecies*, and ſung the Motions of the *Stars*, and the Battles of the *Giants* [*q*]. THAMYRIS was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by the *legiſlative* Genius of his Songs: For he was not only the Author of a *Titan's War*; but celebrated the Gods in *Hymns* and ſung the *Generation* of the *World* [*r*].

Theſe are the moſt celebrated *Bards* of ancient GREECE, whoſe Songs have periſhed in the Wreck of Time. If we come down to the moſt famous of thoſe, whoſe Writings have been preſerved, we ſhall find their Songs compoſed in the ſame *legiſlative* Style and Genius.

[*n*] DIODORUS, l. iii. and LAERTIUS.
[*o*] PAUSANIAS *in Bœoticis*. [*p*] SUIDAS *in Orpheo*.
[*q*] LAERTIUS *in Proœm*. [*r*] SUIDAS *in Tham*.

HESIOD

HESIOD ſeems to ſtand at the Head of theſe, in the Order of Time. And his *Theogony* is a living Witneſs how far HIS *legiſlative* Turn accords to the Principles here delivered. He gives, in Form, the *Generation* of all the *Gods* of GREECE; and mixeth his Narration with their *Acts* and *Praiſes*.

HOMER appears next in the Order of Time: And in his unrivaled Songs we find the *Religion*, *Polities*, and *Manners* of ancient GREECE diſplayed with all the Appearances of Truth, becauſe delivered with all their *Imperfections*. During the early Periods of Civilization, the *legiſlative* Art is always of an *imperfect* Form. In the rude Progreſs of barbarous Manners, the *moral* Ideas are *confined*, and little diſtinguiſhed. If the People be fierce and warlike (as were the Tribes of GREECE) Strength, Courage, Agility, and Cunning, are the ruling Virtues. Hence it follows, that the Pictures both of *Gods* and *Men* will accord to this Principle in ſuch a Period: And hence many of the Fables of HOMER himſelf were of a Caſt ſo different from the Spirit of *improved Legiſlation*, that PLATO refuſed them Admittance into his Republic [*s*].

And here, while we acknowledge HOMER as the ſupreme Painter of natural Manners, and of a Genius truly *legiſlative* according to the Principles of his Time; critical Juſtice demands, that we may take off ſome of thoſe falſe Colourings of Praiſe, which both Antients and Moderns have laviſhed on him, in Regard to the Excellence of the *Morals* which he taught. HORACE, it is well known, hath ſet him above the old Philoſophers, as a

[*s*] *De Rep.* l. ii, iii. —— It is generally affirmed and believed, that PLATO was for baniſhing Poetry, without Exception from his perfect Republic. So far is this from being true, that he affirms directly, "that he only means "to baniſh That which is pernicious: but to retain That which is uſeful" [*De Rep.* l. x.] Nay, he hath written a whole Book [*De Leg.* l. ii.] to prove the Utility of *Muſic* in the Education of Youth: Through the Courſe of which, it is evident, that in His Idea, *Poetry* makes the moſt eſſential Part of *Muſic*.

Teacher

Teacher of all Virtue [*t*]. PLUTARCH, in his Life of HOMER, hath advanced the ſame Poſitions: But whoever will examine his Poems with an impartial Eye, will find a very deficient Plan of Morals prevailing through them. There is not the leaſt Veſtige or Appearance of thoſe abſtract general Principles of moral Excellence or Blame, which take Place in the more refined Periods of ſocial and poliſhed Life: His Gods and Heroes fight and plunder, kill and raviſh, boaſt and lye; are generous, fierce, prodigal, rapacious, cruel, or unrelenting, without much Controul from *moral Ideas* within, or from a *refined legiſlative Art* without.

It is remarkable that PLUTARCH, after labouring in vain through many Pages, to prove that the Principles of all the Virtues are to be found in HOMER, is forced at length to conclude; "It is true, indeed, that *bad* Actions "and Principles are intermixed and deſcribed in the ſame "Manner; which was neceſſary, for the Introduction of "the Sublime and Wonderful: But this only makes the "Contraſt the ſtronger; ſo that the Reader is neceſſarily "led to *ſelect* the *Good*, and *reject* the *Bad* [*u*]." But as this great Ancient, along with others, allows that neither the *good* nor the *bad* is actually recommended by the Poet; the Conſequence follows, that the Reader (if ſo diſpoſed) may as eaſily *elect* the *bad*, and *reject* the *good:* That HOMER was a compleat *natural Painter* of the Ways of Men; but an imperfect moral Painter, from the *unpoliſhed Genius* and *barbarous Legiſlation* of the Age in which he lived.

The Inconſiſtency of a late learned Writer on this Subject is too glaring to paſs unnoticed. He juſtly criticiſeth VIRGIL, as being ſhackled by the refined Manners of his Times, and the political Forms of his Country. With equal Truth he diſplays the free Vein of Nature, which runs through HOMER's Poems. "The natural *Greek*, in "HOMER's Days, covered none of his Sentiments: He "frankly owned the Pleaſures of Love and Wine: He told "how voraciouſly he eat when he was hungry; and how

[*t*] *Qui quid pulchrum*, &c. [*u*] *In Vita* HOMERI.

"horribly

" horribly he was frighted when he ſaw an approaching " Danger: He looked on *no means* as *baſe* to eſcape it; " and was *not* at all *aſhamed* to relate the *Trick* or *Fetch* " that had brought him off.—Even AGAMEMNON is " not aſhamed to own his Paſſion for a captive Maid, in " the Face of the whole Army: He tells them plainly, " that he likes her much better than his Lady, the beau- " tiful CLYTEMNESTRA, of the prime Grecian Nobility " [*w*]." All this Criticiſm is juſt and fine. But who can but wonder at what follows?—" His Work is the great " Drama of Life acting in our View: *There* we ſee *Virtue* " and *Piety praiſed*, public *Religion promoted*; *Tempe-* " *rance*, *Forgiveneſs*, and Fortitude, *rewarded*; Truth " and Character followed; and accordingly find it ſtand- " ing at the Head of human Writings [*x*]." As a *natural Picture* of Manners, its *Superiority* is *acknowledged*: As a *moral Picture*, its *Defects* are no leſs *conſpicuous*. Where is *Virtue* praiſed? Is it in the Conduct of the natural *Greek*, who looked upon *no means* as *baſe* to eſcape Danger? *Nor* was at all *aſhamed* to relate the *Trick* or *Fetch* that brought him off? Is it in the Conduct of AGAMEMNON, who declared his *Paſſion* for a *Captive*, and his *Neglect* of his *Queen*, in the *Face* of the *whole Army*?——Where is *Piety* praiſed? Is it in the Feat of DIOMEDE, who attacked and wounded one of the Gods?——Where is public Religion (in the improved Senſe) promoted? Is it in his Deſcriptions of *Heaven* and *Hell*? In the *firſt* of which the *Adultery* of MARS and VENUS is treated as a *Jeſt* by all the *Gods*: In the *ſecond*, the Souls of the *beſt Men* are repreſented wandering *forlorn* and *comfortleſs*.

In all this, the Poet is not blameable: He painted what he ſaw, and believed, and painted truly. The Fault lay in the Opinions and Manners of the Times: In the Defects of an early and barbarous Legiſlation, which had but half-civilized Mankind.

Our great *Tranſlator* of HOMER hath often departed from the Character of his Original in this Reſpect: He

[*w*] *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of* HOMER, p. 338. [*x*] Ibid.

hath

hath frequently thrown in fine *moral* Traits, of which there is not the leaſt Footſtep in his *Author*. By this, indeed, he hath given us a Poem more accommodated to the Taſte of our own Times; but hath loſt the native and unpoliſhed Simplicity which diſtinguiſhes the venerable old Prince of *Epic Song*.

The next great *legiſlative Bard* whom I ſhall now mention, was PINDAR. At the Period when He flouriſhed, the Fortune and Glory of GREECE were riſing to their Meridian: The *legiſlative* Arts had now obtained a higher Degree of *Perfection*: And accordingly we find, in his ſublime *Songs*, the fulleſt and moſt perfect Union of ſalutary Principles, thrown out in Maxims religious, political, and moral. No Vices or Imperfections, either of Gods or Men, are there applauded or palliated; nor ever recited, but to be condemned: All Actions are praiſed or cenſured, according to their influence on the public Happineſs. The Intent of theſe *Songs*, ſung by their Author at their moſt general and renowned Feſtivals, was to inſpire his Countrymen with the Love of Glory and of Virtue. To this great End, he animated them, not only by the Example and Praiſe of the Victors in the *Olympic Games*; but aſcended into paſt Times, and drew from thence the ſhining Acts of Gods and Heroes, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by Valour, Arts or Virtues.

And here, in Juſtice to this great Poet we muſt obſerve, that PINDAR's Songs, conſidered in this *legiſlative* View, afford an eaſy and internal Solution of a difficulty which hath at all Times embarraſſed his Commentators and Critics; who have ever cenſured his ſeeming Irregularities and ſudden Flights, from the *declared Heroe* of his Poem, to *Gods* and *deceaſed Chieftains*. But on the Principle here given, it appears, that the Heroe of the Day was but the *occaſional* and *incidental* Subject of his Ode. The main Intent was the Praiſe of his Country's Gods and Heroes, who had ſignalized themſelves by Actions beneficent and great. When therefore he ſeems to *wander* into the Celebration of *their* Names, he is indeed *ſeverely true* to the *leading Subject* of his *Song*.

The very Objection itſelf, as it is urged by ſome of

PINDAR's

PINDAR's Critics, leads us to the Solution here given. A French Writer thus expreſſeth it. "He is not always "content with praiſing the *Country* of his *Heroe*; he pro- "ceeds to celebrate the *great Men* which it had *produced*, "and then it is that he *wanders indeed*. So when his *He-* "*roe* is of EGINA, after having celebrated the Iſle in *ge-* "*neral*, he deſcends to *particulars*, and praiſeth ÆACUS, "PELEUS, TELAMON, ACHILLES, and NEOPTOLE- "MUS, AJAX and TEUCER, who all *ſprung* from *thence*: "He mentions CYPRUS, SALAMINE, PYTHIA, EPIRUS, "which were *Colonies founded by thoſe Heroes* [*y*]." There cannot be a better Illuſtration of the *Solution* here given, than this very *Objection* thus preſented at large.

There is a fabulous Story told, which ſtrongly confirms the Principle here delivered; and proves it to have been the Opinion of ancient GREECE, that a Part of theſe feſtal Celebrations was due to the Gods and Heroes; and that it was even a *Crime* to *omit* their Praiſes. "The "Poet SIMONIDES, having agreed with an *Olympic Vic-* "*tor*, called SCOPAS, for an Ode of Celebration; SIMO- "NIDES, according to Cuſtom, went largely into the "Praiſe of CASTOR and POLLUX. On this, SCOPAS "gave him the *third Part* of the Price, and told him, "that he muſt apply to CASTOR and POLLUX for the "Remainder. SCOPAS being afterwards at a Banquet "with SIMONIDES, Word was brought, that *two Men* "covered with Sweat and Duſt were at the Door, and "deſired to ſpeak with SIMONIDES: He went out of the "Chamber, and immediately the Roof fell in, and bu- "ried SCOPAS in the Ruins [*z*]."

The three *Greek* TRAGEDIANS are the laſt of this illuſtrious Catalogue of legiſlative Bards: And their Writings, though very different in their Style and Manner, yet all unite in holding forth the leading Principles of the Greek Religion, Polity, and Morals.

ESCHYLUS, who ſtands firſt in Order of Time, partakes

[*y*] *Hiſt. de l'Acad. Royale des Inſcrip.* t. v. p. 96.
[*z*] CICERO *de Oratore*, l. ii. QUINTIL. l. xi. c. 2.

much

much of the rude Genius of the early Periods. His Imagery and Sentiments are great; his Style rugged and abrupt; and of a Caſt ſo totally different from that of HOMER, that it is aſtoniſhing to hear the Critics, one after another, affirming that HOMER was his Model [*a*]. His Writings preſent to us all the Characters of a ſublime, original, and uncultivated Genius, which ſcorned any other Tutoreſs than *Nature*. He was Himſelf a great Warriour; and his warlike Genius threw itſelf out, in Subjects that were grand and terrible. Hence his Tragic Songs abound with the moſt gloomy and tremendous Exploits of the Grecian Heroes, ſtriking the Soul with Admiration, Aſtoniſhment, and Terror.

SOPHOCLES appeared next; of a more ſedate and tempered Majeſty: He improved on ESCHYLUS both in *Plan* and *Mora's*. For the *legiſlative Arts* were now advancing at ATHENS with great Rapidity. No Wonder, therefore, that the Diſciple conquered his Maſter; when he had the improving Senſe of his Country to elevate and inlarge his Genius. But ſtill the Gods and Heroes of GREECE were the conſtant Subject of his Song.

EURIPIDES, conſidered in the legiſlative View, was on a Level with his Maſters with Reſpect to the Subject of his Tragedies (for theſe were always drawn from the *Grecian Gods* or *Heroes*) but poſſeſſed himſelf of the Advantage which the ſtill improving State of his Country gave him. For *Philoſophy* was now in its Aſcendant: The *Poet* was the *Diſciple* of an eminent *Sage*: Hence the Genius of EURIPIDES carried the legiſlative Power of Song to its laſt Perfection; and threw itſelf out, in ſuch a Variety of Maxims, *political* and *moral*, as far outwent the Art of his Predeceſſors.

Such then, through the various Ages of ancient GREECE, was the legiſlative Genius of their *Songs*; which, in their ſeveral Periods, contained the leading Principles of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*; and thus became the natural and proper Object of the public Attention and Regard.

[*a*] See this Point conſidered below, Art. 20.

12. "MUSIC,

12. "MUSIC, in its more extenſive Meaning, that is, "including *Melody* and the *Song* [*b*], either with or with-"out the *Dance*" (for this laſt, as will appear below [*c*], was ſoon ſeparated from the other two, for an important End) "bore a principal and eſſential Part in the Educa-"tion of their Children." The Authorities which prove this, are abundant, and even ſuperfluous. Some of the principal may ſuffice. "Among the Ancients" (ſays the wiſe PLUTARCH) "Muſic in Theatres was not known: "They employed all their Art in the Worſhip of the "Gods, and the Education of their Youth [*d*]." The ſame Author gives ſeveral Inſtances of muſical Education in CRETE and SPARTA; and tells us, that "By Muſic "the young Men were taught to *abſtain* from every thing "*indecent* in *Word* and *Deed*; and to obſerve *Decorum*, "*Temperance*, and Regularity [*e*]." Again: "Muſic "was the Foundation of a virtuous Education; becauſe "it was allied with *Philoſophy*, *Morals*, and *Heroiſm*: "ACHILLES was taught by CHIRON, and played and "ſung the *great Actions* of *Heroes* [*f*]." Elſewhere he informs us, that "the *Spartans* in their *Songs* talked "high of what *Exploits* they had performed: And that "the *young Men* echoed back their *Triumphs* in their "Songs, proclaiming their Reſolution to *equal* the Va-"lour of their *Forefathers* [*g*]."

Such was the Nature of ancient *Muſic* when applied to Education; and not a mere Proficiency in the *playing* or *ſinging* Art, as it hath been generally miſunderſtood, and ignorantly ridiculed by many Moderns. Hence it was, that their greateſt Captains and Stateſmen ſtudied Muſic, as an eſſential Part of Education. Thus PERICLES was taught by DAMON, who was likewiſe ſuppoſed to have inſtructed him in Politics [*h*]. Thus EPAMINONDAS was eminent in Muſic; though the *Roman* Hiſtorian [*i*], who informs us of the Fact, ſpeaks like one who knew not the Nature and Extent of Muſic among the earlier Greeks.

[*b*] See above, Art. 1. [*c*] See Art. 15. [*d*] PLUT. *de Muſica*. [*e*] Ibid. [*f*] Ibid. [*g*] *In Lycurgo*.

[*h*] PLUT. *in Pericle*. [*i*] CORN. *Nepos in Præfat. Vit.* EPAMINOND.

PLATO

PLATO confirms these Authorities; and recites more at large the particular Method of Education used in ancient GREECE. "What then is the most proper Discipline? "Will it not be difficult to find a better, than what was "long ago established? One Part of this is the *Gymnastic*, "which relates to the *Body*; the other is *Music*, which "relates to the *Mind*. This Discipline ought first to be- "gin with *Music*; and when we speak of *Music*, we in- "clude the *Subject*, *Words*, or *Song*. Of this there are "two Kinds, the *true* and *fabulous*. Both ought to be "applied; but the fabulous first. Yet the *Fables* ought "to be *regulated* lest the young Mind being tinctured "with such as are improper, it should be necessary at a "more adult Age to counterwork the first Impressions "[*k*]." He then proceeds to a particular Detail of Fables proper and improper in the Work of Education, pointing out what ought to be admitted or rejected. In another Dialogue, he speaks again of the Remains of this Method of Instruction, which were found among the wiser Sort, even in his own Times; although in general (as will appear below [*l*]) *Music* was then totally *corrupted*. "The "Parents commit their Children to the Care of Masters; "and are more sollicitous about their *Morals*, than their "Proficiency in *Learning*, or *playing* on the *Lyre*. As "soon as they have attained a Knowledge of Letters, "and are able to understand what they read, the Masters "give them the Works of the *best Poets* to peruse and get "by Heart, especially such as contain the *Praises* of their "*Forefathers* renowned for *great Actions*, that the Boys "may be fired with an *Emulation* to *imitate* their *Virtues*. "The Music-Masters are above all things careful to give "them Habits of Wisdom and Temperance, and to see "that they commit no unworthy Action. As soon as they "have learnt to play on the Lyre, the Master proceeds to "instruct them in the *Songs* of the most famous *Poets*: "These they *sing* to the Lyre; and the Preceptors endea- "vour to bring their Boys to a Love of the Rythms and "Numbers; that by this Discipline they may be more

[*k*] *De Repub.* l. ii. [*l*] Art. 34, 35.

"*mild*,

" *mild*, *modeſt*, and *orderly* in their *Manners*, and become " *uſeful* both in *Speech* and *Action* [*m*]."

Suitable to this Method of Education is PLATO's Direction in his Book of Laws. " Therefore the Legiſlator " will take Care, that the Youth's Mind may be ſo formed, " that his *Pleaſures* and *Diſpleaſures* may *accord* to the " *Laws*, and to the Taſte of *mature Age*: And if it be " neceſſary, he will compel the Poet to deſcribe the *Actions* " of *brave* and *good* Men; and to compoſe ſuch *Numbers* " and *Harmonies* as may be ſuited to the Subjects [*n*]."

In the ſame Place he aſſigns a particular Reaſon for this Method of Education: " Becauſe the youthful Mind is " not apt to attend to ſerious Study, therefore the *pleaſing* " *Vehicle* of *Song* is to be adminiſtered [*o*]." He then proceeds even to the particular moral Maxims which ought to be inſtilled by the Poet and Muſician, on the Principles of a wiſe Legiſlator.

As theſe Authorities are clear and deciſive, we may here properly obviate an Error of the excellent MONTESQUIEU, ariſing from his Miſapprehenſion of the true Nature and Extent of ancient Muſic. He, with moſt other Writers, ſuppoſeth it to have conſiſted (according to the modern Acceptation of the Word) in the ſingle Circumſtance of *Melody*. In Conſequence of this, when he comes to inquire why the ancient *Greeks* applied Muſic ſo univerſally in the Education of their Children, he ſays, " As they " were a warlike People, and therefore in Danger of de- " generating into a ſavage Ferocity of Manners, they em- " ployed Muſic, as the beſt Means of ſoftening their Tem- " pers into a milder Character; and this, becauſe Muſic, " of all the Pleaſures of Senſe, has the leaſt Tendency to " corrupt the Soul [*p*]." And ſo far, indeed, is true, that the ancient Greeks did conſider this as one of the ſalutary Effects ariſing from the Application of Muſic [*q*]. But we now find, that the Matter lay much deeper: That Muſic, in its ancient Senſe, implied not only *Melody* but

[*m*] *In Protag.* [*n*] *De Legibus*, l. ii. [*o*] Ibid.
[*p*] *L'Eſprit des Loix*, l. iv. c. 8. [*q*] PLATO *de Rep.* l. iii.

Verſe

Verſe or *Song:* That it was the *eſtabliſhed Vehicle* of all the leading Principles of their *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*; and therefore was the natural and moſt important Inſtrument of Means in the Education of their Children.

The learned DACIER falls into the ſame Error, with Reſpect to the wonderful Efficacy of *Muſic*, in the *Education* of the *Arcadians*, and the fatal Want of it among the Inhabitants of CYNÆTHE, as the fact is recorded by POLYBIUS and ATHENÆUS. "If (ſays the Critic) POLYBIUS ſpeaks thus of *Muſic*, and if he accuſeth "EPHORUS of having advanced a thing unworthy of him, "in ſaying that this Art was invented to deceive Mankind; "what may we not ſay of *Tragedy*, of which *Muſic* is but "a *ſmall Ornament*, and which as far ſurpaſſeth *Muſic*, as "*Speech* is beyond inarticulate and *unmeaning Sounds* [*t*]." In this Paſſage, the learned Writer evidently ſuppoſeth that the ancient *Muſic*, which wrought ſuch Wonders in the Education of the *Arcadians*, was no more than mere *Melody* or *unmeaning Sound*. But the Account which both POLYBIUS and ATHENÆUS give of the muſical Education of the *Arcadians*, confirms all that hath been here advanced; and proves, that it conſiſted in the Application of the united Powers of *Dance*, *Melody*, and *Song*.

The moſt learned VOSSIUS proceeds on the ſame Miſtake in his firſt Book *De Natura Artium:* And continues under the Influence of this fundamental Error, through his whole Diſſertation on *Muſic*. As it may ſeem unaccountable, how ſo capital a Miſtake ſhould creep into the Writings of theſe great Authors, let me here obſerve, as an Apology for them all, that ARISTOTLE, and ſome ſucceeding Writers, ſpeak of *Muſic* as an Art *diſtinct* from *Poetry* [*u*]: It was therefore natural enough for theſe Writers to draw their Ideas of ancient Muſic from the great Maſter-Critic of GREECE. How it came to paſs, that ARISTOTLE ſhould ſpeak of theſe Arts as *two*, which the elder Writers conſidered as *one*, will clearly appear below [*w*]; where we ſhall ſee, that in the Time of ARIS-

[*t*] DACIER *Poët. d'Ariſtote. Preface.* [*u*] *Poët. paſſim.* [*w*] Art. 35.

TOTLE,

TOTLE, a Separation of the *Melody* and *Song* had taken place; that the firſt retained the Name of *Muſic*, and the ſecond aſſumed that of *Poetry*.

13. "MUSIC, in its inlarged Senſe, acquired a *great* and "*general Power* over the Minds and Actions of the ancient "*Greeks*." It is preſumed, that we have now gained an Aſcent, from whence this Truth will appear evident and indiſputable; though it hath long been regarded by many, as an incredible Paradox.—How, or whence, ſuch an univerſal Paſſion for Muſic ſhould have ariſen in GREECE; or, after it had ariſen, how it gained ſuch a general Eſtabliſhment in the important Article of Education; or, after it was thus eſtabliſhed, how it could work ſuch mighty Effects upon the Mind, ſuppoſing it to conſiſt only in mere Melody; – are Queſtions which wiſe Men have aſked, and Bigots to Antiquity have weakly anſwered: For the common Reply hath been, that their *Muſic* (meaning their *Melody*) was of a Kind ſo much ſuperior to ours, that all its wonderful Effects followed from its more exalted Nature. – On the contrary, it appears, that as to its particular Conſtruction, we are ignorant of it: That we have no preciſe or practicable Idea of their *Genera*, their *Modes*; nor the *Make*, nor *Power* of their *Inſtruments*: But that by collateral Arguments we can prove, that their *Melody* was ſomething altogether *ſimple* and *inartificial*; ſuch as Stateſmen, Warriours, and Bards, occupied in other Purſuits, could compoſe; and ſuch as high and low, Children and Men, buſied in other concerns of Life, could learn and practiſe. That hence we are led to believe, that whatever Effects were from the mere *Melody*, aroſe from its *Rythm* or *Meaſure*, heightened by early *Aſſociation* and continued *Habit*; by which it became a kind of natural *Language* of the Paſſions. It appears farther, that *Melody* formed but a Part of ancient *Muſic*; and that its moſt important and eſſential Branch was that of *Verſe* and *Song*. But for a clear and full View of the Origin and Union of their *Melody* and *Song*, it was neceſſary to go back, and begin our Inquiries at the earlieſt Period of ſavage Life, in which all the Seeds and Principles of civilized Society appear in their native and uncultivated State. This Method

of

of Inveſtigation hath opened to us an Involved and clouded Subject. Hence it appears, that *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*, naturally aroſe in *Union*; that *Meaſure*, *Rythm* and *Numbers*, were the certain Conſequence: That in their earlieſt Times of GREECE, the Characters of *Legiſlator* and *Bard* did often and naturally *coaleſce*: That hence their earlieſt Hiſtories, Laws, and Oracles, were of courſe written in Verſe; that their religious Rites were naturally, and without poſitive Appointment, performed or accompanied by Melody, Dance, and Song: that through the ſeveral improving Periods of Time, their Songs were more and more of a true legiſlative Caſt; that they included all the great Actions of their Gods and Heroes, and that in theſe were contained the leading Principles of their Religion, Morals, and Polity: That *Muſic*, in this its inlarged Senſe, bore an eſſential and principal Part in the Education of their Children, being the pleaſing and powerful Vehicle, by which all the important Precepts of Life were inſtilled into their tender Minds.—Thus naturally *Muſic* aroſe, and was *powerfully eſtabliſhed* in ancient GREECE: And from this View of its Nature and eſtabliſhment, its *general Influence* muſt unavoidably follow: "For through the Force of "early and continued Habit, together with the irreſiſtible "Contagion of public Example maintained by the gene-"ral Practice of the whole Community, who had received "the ſame Impreſſions in their infant State; and while "every thing pleaſing, great, and important, was conveyed "through this Medium; ſuch ſtrong Aſſociations did "ſtrike themſelves into the Tribes of GREECE, as natu-"rally produced the moſt laſting Effects, and ſuch as no "future Incidents of Life could eaſily weaken or efface.

On theſe principles we may naturally explain ſome of the recorded Effects of ancient Muſic, which, according to the common Interpretation of the Word, have been liable to the Deriſion of modern Critics.

We read, that ſuch was the Power of ancient Muſic, that when AGAMEMNON went to TROY, the deſigning EGISTHUS could not debauch CLYTEMNESTRA, till he had decoyed away the *Muſician* that was retained in the Palace. This Account, if we underſtand by *Muſic* no more than

Melody,

Melody, hath much the Air of Hyperbole and Fable. But if we regard the *Muſician* as what indeed he was, the Diſpenſer of *religious* and *moral* Principles, and that he urged the great Duty of conjugal Fidelity with the united Powers of poetic Eloquence and Song; and urged them to one whoſe Education had made her ſuſceptible of ſuch Impreſſions, the fabulous Appearances diſſolve; and we ſee, that no other Method could have been deviſed, ſo effectual for the Preſervation of a weak Woman's Virtue.

Again; we are told, that certain young Men heated with Wine, had agreed to aſſault the Doors of a modeſt Woman, and abuſe her as a Proſtitute: but that an able Muſician coming paſt, he ſung and played to them in the *Dorian* Mode; on which they were ſtruck with Shame and deſiſted from their Enterprize [*x*]. This, to modern Comprehenſion, hath ſtill more the Air of Fable: But when the Fact is well explained, the Ridicule vaniſheth with the Myſtery. For every *different Subject* had a *different Mode* annexed to it. This appears at large from PLATO. "You muſt adapt the Mode to the Subject and "Words, not theſe to the Mode or Harmony: On theſe "Matters we will farther deliberate with DAMON, what "Feet or Meaſures are fitteſt to expreſs Illiberality, Petu-"lance, frantic Folly, and other Vices; and what Meaſures "beſt expreſs their contrary Virtues. *Hence* it is, that "Rythm and Numbers gain their Power in the muſical E-"ducation, and exerciſe their mighty Influence on the Paſſi-"ons of the Soul [*y*]." 'Tis plain, therefore, that when the Hiſtorians tells us, that the Muſician conquered the young Debauchees by an Application of the *Dorian* Mode, he means to ſignify, that the Melody was accompanied by a *poetic Exhortation* ſuited to the Numbers; and this could be no other than a Leſſon of *Modeſty* and *Temperance*; which being conveyed by the pleaſing Vehicle of Melody

[*x*] This Story is ridiculed in the *Memoirs* of MARTINUS SCRIBLERUS: And the Ridicule is founded on an entire Miſapprehenſion, or Miſrepreſentation, of the true nature of *ancient* MUSIC.

[*y*] *De Repub.* l. iii.

and Song, addreſſed to thoſe who by the Tenor of their Education muſt feel its Force, and given by one whoſe Profeſſion they had been taught to reverence, could hardly fail of its deſigned Effects, unleſs their Intemperance had prevented all Attention.

There are other recorded Effects of ancient Muſic of a ſimilar Nature, which it is not neceſſary to produce here, becauſe they may all be accounted for on the ſame Principle. With Reſpect to the traditionary Influence of this Art on wild Beaſts, Stocks, and Stones, as it came down from the ignorant and fabulous Times, ſo nothing can be juſtly concluded from it, but the Force of Muſic over the Minds of uninſtructed and wondering Barbarians.

Thus the boaſted Power of the ancient *Greek Muſic* ſeems naturally and fully accounted for. And in Confirmation of this Solution, we may finally appeal to the ſavage Tribes with whom this Inquiry began. For by Means parallel in moſt other Reſpects, ſave only in the Article of Legiſlation and Letters, they animate each other by the early and continued Uſe of Melody, Dance, and Song, to Valour in Arms, to Conſtancy in Torments and Death [z]. This is found, in Fact, to be an Education of ſuch mighty Influence, that the *War Song* and *Death-Song* inſpire whole Tribes with a Degree of *Fury* and *Indurance*, which hath become the Aſtoniſhment of all who have *ſeen* but never *felt* their Power.

SECT. VI.

Of the Progreſſions of Muſic in ancient Greece.

THE Origin, Nature, and Power of the ancient Greek Muſic being thus explained; let us now proceed to a like Application of the remaining Articles of the fourth Section; in which we ſhall endeavour to unfold the various *Progreſſions* of this Art in GREECE, and purſue it through its ſeveral Advances towards *Perfection*, to its final *Corruption* and *Decay*.

[z] LAFITAU, tom. iii. p. 171. tom. iv. p. 9. 14. "The

14. "The *Dance* was ſeparated from the *Song*; and "with or without *Melody* became itſelf a diſtinct Exerciſe "or Art, under the Title of *Gymnaſtic*, for the ſake of "increaſing their Strength and Agility of Body, as the "means of rendering them invincible in War." This was the natural Effect of their warlike Character, for the Reaſon given above [*a*]. And that this was the real Generation of the *Gymnaſtic* Art, appears evidently from PLATO's Book of *Laws*: where, having ſpoken of the three conſtituent Parts of a compleat *Choir* (Melody, Dance, and Song) he proceeds to deduce from theſe the Origin of the *Gymnaſtic* Art. "Is not this the leading "Principle of the *Gymnaſtic* Art, that every Creature is "born with a natural Inclination to leap or bound? But "Man, being endowed with a Senſe of *Rythm* or *Numbers*, "naturally formed his Motions into *Dance*: *Melody*, na-"turally begets *Rythm*; and theſe two united form the "*Gymnaſtic*.—For *That* we call the *Gymnaſtic*, when the "*Dance* is ſo artificially applied as to improve the Powers "of the Body [*b*]." That this Art was applied by the ancient *Greeks* to the End of public and warlike Service, is generally known: However, if it needs a Proof, another Paſſage of the ſame Author will ſufficiently confirm it. "After theſe Inſtructions (in *Muſic*) the Parents ſend their "Sons to the Maſters of the *Gymnaſtic* Schools, that by "gaining a firm Habit of Body, which may ſecond a "well-formed Mind, they may be able to indure the "Toils of *Enterpriſe* and *War* [*c*]."

We trace the Foundation and Progreſs of the *Gymnaſtic* Art no leſs clearly in LUCIAN's Account. "The *Spar-*"*tans*, having received this Art (of Dancing) from CAS-"TOR and POLLUX, went dancing to Battle, to the Sound "of Flutes: Their Application to Muſic did not leſſen "their Attention to Arms: For a Muſician ſat in the "midſt of the Aſſembly, and played on the Flute, beating "Time with his Foot; while they regularly followed the "Meaſure, in a Variety of warlike Poſtures [*d*]."

[*a*] See Sect. iv. Art. 14. [*b*] *De Leg.* l. ii.
[*c*] *In Protag.* [*d*] *De Saltatione.*

To confirm theſe Evidences, we may add another Inſtance of a warlike *Dance*, which approacheth neareſt to the Eſtabliſhment of the *Gymnaſtic* Exerciſe, of any recorded by Antiquity. XENOPHON, in his "Expedition of "CYRUS," deſcribes one of theſe Dances in the following Manner. "The *Feaſt* being ended, the *Libations* made, "and the *Hymn* ſung, two *Thracians*, completely armed, "began to dance to the Sound of the Flute: After ſkir-"miſhing for ſome time with their Swords, one of them "(as wounded) fell down, on which the *Paphlagonians* "ſet up a loud Cry. The Conqueror having ſtripped his "Adverſary, departed, ſinging his Victory."—Here we ſee a near Approach to the Forms of the *Gymnaſtic* Exerciſe in their moſt eſſential Circumſtances, yet the original Form of the *Dance* remains.

Thus the Origin of the *Gymnaſtic* Arts is clearly unfolded, as being no more than a Part of the ſavage *Song-Feaſt*; but ſeparated from thence for the Ends of warlike Service. For want of this Information, the learned VOSSIUS, among other Authors, ſtyles the *Dance* a Branch of the *Gymnaſtic*, inſtead of regarding the *Gymnaſtic* as the Offspring of the *Dance* [*e*].

Here we may farther obſerve, that this View of the *Gymnaſtic*, conſidered as having been originally a Branch of the *Muſical* Art, clears up a Difficulty with which every other Account of it is encumbered. Thus a late Writer ſays, "The Exerciſe of *leaping* in the *Pentathlon* was ac-"companied by *Flutes*, playing *Pythian* Airs, as PAUSA-"NIAS informs us. Whence this Cuſtom was derived, "I cannot ſay: And the Reaſon aſſigned for it by that "Author, which is certainly not the true one, may induce "us to think, that in this Matter the Ancients were as "ignorant as we [*f*]." But on the Principle here given, the Cuſtom accounts for itſelf. In the firſt Inſtitution of the *Gymnaſtic* Arts, it appears that Melody made a Part of them: This Part had been diſuſed (by Courſe of Time)

[*e*] *De Nat. Art.* l. i. c. 3. [*f*] WEST's *Tranſl. of* PINDAR's *Odes: Pref.*

in

in the *other* Exerciſes, but had been retained in that of *Leaping* in the *Pentathlon*.

15. "After a certain Period of Civilization, the *complex* "Character of *Legiſlator* and *Bard* did *ſeparate*, and were "ſeldom united." This Separation, it hath been ſhewn above, would of courſe follow from decreaſing Enthuſiaſm, and the increaſing Labours of Government. And ſuch was the natural Riſe of the ἀοιδοι or *Bards* of ancient GREECE: Of whoſe *Profeſſion* and *Art* a late learned Author [*g*] hath, in many Circumſtances, though not in all, given a juſt Idea. Of its original Dignity and Importance, in the moſt ancient Times, he did not rightly conceive; through his ignorance of its true Riſe, and original Union with the Legiſlator's Office. He repreſents them as wandering Muſicians only, who were *welcome* to the Houſes of the *Great*. Such indeed they were, in the *later* Periods; when the Separation had been long formed, and their Office became rather an Affair of *Amuſement* than *Utility*. But as in the earlieſt Periods the *Legiſlators* themſelves were often *Bards*, ſo when the Separation of Character was firſt made, the known Influence and Importance of their Office could make them no other than *Aſſiſtants* to the *Magiſtrate*, in the high Talk of governing the People. Of this we have a clear Inſtance in the Commonwealth of SPARTA (which maintained all its original Inſtitutions the moſt pure and unchanged) where a dangerous Inſurrection aroſe; nor could be quelled by the Magiſtrate, till the Bard TERPANDER came, and played and ſung at their public Place of Congreſs [*h*].

HESIOD, who was himſelf of this Order, hath given us a noble Deſcription of their Office and Dignity: Which, as it ſtrongly confirms the Genealogy here given, I ſhall tranſlate at large; together with his Picture of the *Magiſtrate*; along with whom the *Bard* appears to co-operate in the public Welfare, as the *ſecond* Character in the *Community*. "Therefore Kings (Magiſtrates) are watchful "that they may do juſtice to the injured, at the Place of

[*g*] *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of* HOMER.
[*h*] SUIDAS, *on the Leſbian Song*.

" public Congreſs, ſoothing the Paſſions of Men by per-
" ſuaſive Speech: The People reverence him as a God,
" while he paſſes through the City.—*Kings* are from
" JOVE: *Bards* are from the *Muſes* and the far-ſhooting
" APOLLO. Happy is He whom the Muſes love: His
" Lips flow with ſweet and ſoothing Accents. If any
" hath a keen and inward Grief, freſh-rankling in his
" Soul; the Bard, the Muſes Miniſter, no ſooner ſings
" the Praiſe of *ancient Heroes*, and the Gods who inhabit
" OLYMPUS, than he forgets his Sorrows, and feels no
" more his Anguiſh.—Hail, Daughters of JOVE! Inſpire
" *Me* with your perſuaſive Song [*i*]."

It ſeems probable that the original *Dignity* of the *Bard*'s Character was always maintained longer in *Commonwealths* than under deſpotic or *kingly* Governments: For at the Court of ALCINOUS, ſo early as the Age of HOMER's Heroes, it appears from the Picture given of DEMODOCUS, to have ſunk into a Character of *Dependance* [*k*]. The Reaſon is manifeſt: The *Republican* Form ſubſiſts by an united Exertion of the Powers of every Rank: Under the *deſpotic* Rule the Influence of theſe various Powers is ſwallowed up in the abſolute Will of ONE. We ſhall ſee the Bard's Character riſing again in its dignified State, in the early Periods of other barbarous Nations [*l*].

16. " In the Courſe of Time, and Progreſs of Polity
" and Arts, a *Separation* of the ſeveral *Kinds* of *Song* did
" ariſe. In the early Periods they lay confuſed; and were
" mingled in the ſame Compoſition, as Inclination, En-
" thuſiaſm, or other Incidents might impel."—This Fact is manifeſt enough, from the Catalogue already given of the Writings of the moſt ancient Bards of GREECE; for by this it appears, that they ranged at large through the Fields of Poetry and *Song*, without giving any preciſe or legitimate Form to their Compoſitions; which ſeem moſt generally to have been a rapturous Mixture of *Hymn*, *Hiſtory*, *Fable*, and *Mythology*, thrown out by the enthuſiaſtic Bard in legiſlative Songs, as different Motives or

[*i*] HES. THEOG. [*k*] *Odyſſ.* [*l*] See below, Sect. viii.

Occaſions

Occaſions preſented themſelves, and according to the Exigencies or Capacity of his ſurrounding Audience.—"But "repeated Trial and Experiment produced a more artifi- "cial Manner; and thus by degrees, the ſeveral Kinds of "Poem aſſumed their legitimate Forms."—For the Truth of this, we refer to the following Articles.

17. "HYMNS or *Odes* were compoſed, and *ſung* by their "Compoſers at their feſtal Solemnities." This Species of Song hath in the Way of Preheminence, and beyond any other, gained the Title of *lyric Poetry*. Nor can we wonder at this, if we conſider, that from its Nature it muſt have ariſen firſt, muſt have been firſt moulded into Form, and muſt, from its peculiar Genius, continue united with *Melody* longer and more univerſally than any other. It aroſe firſt, becauſe it was natural for the ſavage Mind, to throw itſelf out in ſudden Exclamations of Grief or Joy, Love, Revenge, or Anguiſh, before it could find Means or Leiſure to recite at large the occaſions of theſe powerful Feelings: It muſt be firſt moulded into form, becauſe its Extent is the ſmalleſt, and its Plan moſt ſimple: It muſt continue united with *Melody* longer and more univerſally than any other Species, becauſe the very Eſſence of its Subject is that which the other Kinds only catch incidentally; I mean, the ſudden Shocks and Emotions of the Soul; which are found to be the powerful Bands of Nature, by which *Melody* and *Song* are moſt cloſely bound together.

PLUTARCH confirms this Reaſoning concerning the *Priority* of the *hymnal* Species; and ſays, that "Muſic "was *firſt* uſed in religious Ceremonies, being employed in "the *Praiſes* of the *Gods*; and that *afterwards* it was ap- "plied to *other* Subjects [*m*]." Accordingly we find, that in the ſeveral ſucceſſive Periods, ALCÆUS, STESICHORUS, TYRTÆUS, and others, compoſed and ſung their *Odes* at the public Feſtivals. The ſublime PINDAR was not more celebrated for his mighty Strains, than for his powerful Performance of them at the *Olympic Games:* Nay; ſo high was his Fame in this Regard, that he had a golden Chair

[*m*] *De Muſica.*

appropriated to him in the Temple of DELPHI, where he poured forth the Torrent of his Songs, which were attended to, and revered as Oracles iſſuing from the Inſpiration of the God.

18. "The *Epic* Poem aroſe; and was ſung by its Com-"poſers at their feſtal Solemnities."—When the firſt Fire of Enthuſiaſm had vented itſelf in the Rapture of *Hymns* and *Odes*, it naturally aſſumed a more *ſedate* Manner; and found Time to relate at large thoſe Actions which in its firſt Agitations it could only celebrate by ſudden Burſts of Paſſion and Praiſe. Accordingly, we find many of the elder Poets of GREECE mixing the *hymnal* and *enthuſiaſtic* with the *hiſtoric* or *narrative* Species. The Exploits of BACCHUS, the Rape of PROSERPINE, the Wars of the TITANS, were among their favourite Themes. After theſe, came the Authors of the *Herculiad* and *Theſiad*: DEMODOCUS, prior to HOMER, ſung the Ambuſh of the *Trojan Horſe*: PHEMIUS ſung the Return of the *Greeks* under AGAMEMNON: The *little Iliad* compriſed moſt of the ſubſequent Adventures of the *Trojan War*. A *Thebaid* was alſo written, the Author of which is not certainly known; though PAUSANIAS tells us, it was by many aſcribed to HOMER [*n*]. As Example, Habit, and improving Arts and Polity, are the neceſſary Means of Progreſs in every Art, ſo theſe accounts, though imperfectly conveyed to us (becauſe the Poems they allude to are loſt) ſufficiently imply, that the *Epic* Muſe advanced *gradually* towards Perfection; till at length ſhe appeared in full Splendor in the Perſon of her favoured HOMER.

HERODOTUS, indeed has thrown out a Hint, as if the *Iliad* was prior to the oldeſt of the Poems aſcribed to theſe moſt ancient Bards [*o*]. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS affirms the ſame thing in ſtronger Terms [*p*]: And Mr. POPE goes into this Opinion [*q*]. It muſt be confeſſed, the Hiſtory of theſe remote Ages is ſo dark and fabulous, that nothing can with Certainty be collected from them.

[*n*] L. ix. [*o*] *In* EUTERPE. [*p*] L. i. c. 5.

[*q*] Diſſ. prefixed to his Tranſ. of the *Iliad*.

But

But the very Structure of HOMER's Poem carries in itſelf ſuch an internal Evidence, as turns the Scale againſt the Hiſtorian's Conjecture. If we conſider the Nature of the human Mind, we ſhall be lead to believe, that the *Epic* Poem muſt have received a *gradual* Improvement through that long though unknown Tract of Time, during which its unpoliſhed Rudiments exiſted before the Age of HOMER. The mere Powers of *Fancy* and *Execution* may, indeed, arrive at their higheſt Perfection by the Efforts of a *ſingle Mind:* For what belongs to Nature only, Nature only can complete; and thus our immortal SHAKESPEAR aroſe: But that an *Epic* PLAN, ſo *complex*, ſo *vaſt*, and yet ſo *perfect* as that of the *Iliad*; which requires an uncommon Penetration even to comprehend in all its Variety and Art; which the thoughtful, the literate, the poliſhed VIRGIL attempted to rival, and only proved his utter Inability by his attempt; which ſucceeding Poets have made their Model, yet none have ever equalled or approached, ſave only the all-comprehending Mind of the ſublime MILTON:—that ſuch a Plan as This, which required the higheſt Efforts of an improved Underſtanding, opened and ſtrengthened by a Succeſſion of preceding Examples, ſhould at once emerge in all the Extent of Art, in the midſt of rude and unformed Fables, ſung at Feſtivals as vague Enthuſiaſm might inſpire;—this is an Opinion repugnant to all our Notices concerning the Progreſs of the Powers of the human Mind. We may as rationally ſuppoſe that St. PAUL's was the firſt built Temple, its *Organ* the firſt muſical Inſtrument, the LAOCOON and his Sons the firſt Attempt in Statuary, the *Tranſfiguration* the firſt Eſſay in Picture, as that the *ſtupendous Iliad*, the Wonder of all ſucceeding Ages, was the *firſt* Attempt in *Epic* Poetry.

What the Nature of the Thing ſo ſtrongly declares, ARISTOTLE ſeems to confirm in his Poetics. For he ſays, that "although we know not the Names either of the "Poems or their Authors; yet there is Reaſon to believe "that many had been written before HOMER; and that "his *Margites* brought this Species to its Perfection, in

" the ſame Manner as the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey* had compleat-
" ed the Form of the Epic Poem [*r*]."

We may reaſonably conclude, therefore, that from the Days of LINUS, down to thoſe of HOMER, there had been a Succeſſion of Writers, among whom the Form of the *Epic* Poem had been *gradually* advancing towards Perfection, till it received its full Completion in the Birth of the *Iliad*.

That theſe Epic Songs in their ſeveral Periods, were ſung by their Compoſers to the ſurrounding People, we have the general Teſtimony of ancient Writers. This Fact is ſo clear, with Reſpect to the elder Poets of GREECE, that it is much queſtioned whether ever their *Songs* were committed to *Writing*: Whether they were any more than the extempore Efforts of a ſudden Enthuſiaſm, kindled by the ſympathetic Power of *religious Rites*, or *State-Feſtivals*. That HOMER followed the honourable Profeſſion of a *Bard*, and ſung his own Poems at the public Feaſts, hath been proved at large by a learned Writer [*s*]. HESIOD was of the ſame Order; and ſeems to have maintained it with truer Dignity [*t*]: TERPANDER held the ſame Employment, and ſung both his own Poems and thoſe of HOMER [*u*].

19. "From an *Union* of theſe two Kinds, a certain rude
" Outline of *Tragedy* aroſe."—For when a Bard ſung the great or terrible Atchievements of a Heroe or God, the ſurrounding *Audience*, fired to Enthuſiaſm, and already prepared by a correſpondent Education, would naturally break forth into the Raptures of a *choral Song*.—This Progreſſion of Poetry is ſo natural, that it is Matter of Aſtoniſhment to hear the learned at all Times aſcribing the Riſe of Tragedy, to Cauſes merely accidental; and confining it to the ſingle Adventure of THESPIS and his Route, ſinging the Praiſes of BACCHUS at a *caſual* Vintage. Thus DACIER, among others, affirms roundly, that " The firſt dramatic Perſon which THESPIS *invented*,
" was only *deſigned* to give Reſpite to the Choir; and

[*r*] *Poet.* c. iv. [*s*] *Life of* HOMER, Sect. vii, viii.
[*t*] THEOG. *Exord.* ver. 23, &c. [*u*] PLUTARCH. *de Muſica.*

" what

" what he recited was no more than an Appendage to " Tragedy [*w*]." In the ſame Manner the ſenſible and learned BRUMOY delivers at large the common Syſtem, with Reſpect to the Birth and Progreſs of the *tragic* Species [*x*]. All this is in Contradiction to the Workings of Nature; and, without Proof, ſuppoſes That to be a *caſual Invention* in a *particular* Inſtance, which was indeed the *natural Progreſs* of Paſſion expreſſed by *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*. We have ſeen, that an Union of Narration and concurrent Shouts of Praiſe takes Place even in the rude Feſtivals of the ſavage Tribes: 'Tis altogether repugnant, therefore, to the Nature of Things to ſuppoſe, when *Letters* had given Accents to the Rapture of the ſurrounding Audience, and moulded the Ode into Form, that this natural Union ſhould not be upheld. Though, therefore, the firſt Riſe and Progreſs of the tragic Species in GREECE were hid in Darkneſs, through a Want of recording Hiſtory, yet, from a Similarity of Cauſes and Effects which we find among the barbarous Nations of AMERICA, we might fairly conclude, that it had not a *caſual*, but a *certain Riſe* from *Nature*; according to the Principles here given.

But ancient Hiſtory is not ſilent on this Subject. It gives us a Variety of Facts, which overturn the common Syſtem, and tend to confirm what is here advanced. PLATO ſays expreſly, that " Tragedy was very ancient in " the City of ATHENS, and practiſed there, long before " the Age of THESPIS [*y*]." We are aſſured, on the Authority of other Writers, that " a Report prevailed in " GREECE, that certain tragic Poets had in ancient Times " contended at the Tomb of THESEUS [*z*]." SUIDAS even mentions one EPIGENES by Name, a tragic Poet, prior to the Age of THESPIS.

But a ſtill ſtronger Evidence preſents itſelf: For even the very Subſtance and Form of one of theſe rude Out-

[*w*] *Sur les Poet. D'Ariſt.* p. 47. [*x*] *Theat. des Grecs*, tom. vi p. 310, &c. [*y*] MINOS.

[*z*] See VOSSIUS *Poet.* l. ii. c. 12.

lines

lines of ſavage Tragedy remains in a reſpectable Author of Antiquity. " In ancient Times (ſaith STRABO) there " was a Conteſt of Muſicians who ſung *Pæans* in Cele- " bration of the God APOLLO: This was eſtabliſhed by " the Inhabitants of DELPHI, after the *Chriſſæan* War." The Deſcription of this Conteſt is not incurious. " The " Poem was compoſed by TIMOSTHENES; The Subject " was the Victory of APOLLO over the *Serpent*: The *firſt* " Part was the *Prelude* to the Battle; the *ſecond* was the " *Beginning* of the Engagemant; the *third*, the *Battle* it- " ſelf; the *fourth* was the *Pæan* or *Triumph* on the Vic- " tory; the *fifth* was an Imitation of the *Agonies* and *Hiſ-* " *ſing* of the *dying Serpent* [*a*]."

Here we have the very Form and Subſtance of a firſt rude Eſſay towards *Tragedy*, compounded of *Narration* and *correſpondent Songs* of *Triumph*.

Nay, as a farther Confirmation, not only of this particular Article, but of the general Principles on which this Diſſertation is built, we learn from other Authors, that APOLLO himſelf was the *Founder* of theſe *Conteſts* [*b*]: that the *God* was the *firſt* who *ſung* his *own Exploit*; that He firſt deſcribed his Engagement with the Serpent; and that a Part of the Conteſt conſiſted in an Imitation of APOLLO, who *danced after his Victory* [*c*]. In this whole Scene, of the *God* of Muſic *ſinging*, *dancing*, and *praiſing* his *own Atchievements*, we have the genuine Picture of a *ſavage Chieftain* [*d*].

It appears, therefore, that Tragedy had a much earlier and deeper Foundation in ancient GREECE, than the accidental Adventure of THESPIS and his Rout: That it aroſe from *Nature*, and an unforced *Union* and *Progreſſion* of *Melody*, *Dance* and *Song*.

At the ſame Time it is manifeſt, that THESPIS added *ſomething* to the rude and ſavage Form of Tragedy, as it exiſted in *his* Age. 'Tis probable that He was the *firſt Declaimer* or *Interlocutor to his own Choir*; that he firſt

[*a*] STRABO, l. ix. [*b*] See J. SCALIGER *Poet.* l. i. c. 23. [*c*] JUL. POLL. *Onomaſt.* l. iv. c. 10.
[*d*] See above, Sect. ii.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed the *Profeſſion* of a *Player* in ATTICA, and firſt tranſported his *Company* from one Village to another; whereas, before his Time, the Exhibitions of the rude tragic Scene had been fixed, and merely *incidental* [*e*]. This inſtitution of an itinerant Company muſt neceſſarily increaſe the general Attention of ATTICA to theſe rude tragic Scenes: And hence the Opinion ſeems firſt to have ariſen, that THESPIS was the *Inventor* of this Species [*f*].

2o. "In Proceſs of Time, this barbarous Scene im-
" proved into a more perfect Form: Inſtead of *relating*,
" they *repreſented* by an *aſſumed Character*, and by *Action*
" and *Song*, thoſe great or terrible Atchievements which
" their Heroes had performed." How ſoon the ſavage Tribes fall into this Kind of dramatic Repreſentation, we have already ſeen [*g*]: How natural ſuch a Progreſſion of Art muſt be to the human Mind, will appear by reflecting,

[*e*] HOR. *Ep. ad* PIS.——DIOG. LAERT. SOLON.

[*f*] The moſt learned BENTLEY fell into the common Syſtem, with regard to the Riſe of Tragedy: Attempting to prove, that THESPIS was its *Inventor*. Thus, for Want of the true *Data*, and from an Unacquaintance with Man in his ſavage State, this great Critic hath thrown out a Chain of Errors: While, if he had been led up to the true Fountains of Information, he would probably have caught the various Progreſſions of Poetry at a Glance.

Mr. BOYLE, in his Examination of BENTLEY's Diſſertation, ſeems once or twice to get out of the Common Track of Criticiſm on this Subject: Yet for want of knowing the true Origin of Tragedy, as founded in human Nature, he throws little or no Light upon the Queſtion. He inſiſts, that Tragedy is more ancient than THESPIS, on the Authority of PLATO and LAERTIUS: But he falls again into the vulgar Track, in affirming, that till the Time of THESPIS, the *Epiſode* had no Exiſtence, but only the *Choir*. In Confutation of which Opinion we have now ſhewn, that the full Form of ſavage Tragedy had appeared many Ages before, in the firſt Inſtitution of the *Pythian Games*.

[*g*] Above, Sect. ii.

that

that dramatic *Action* is but another Mode of *Narration*; and that even the *Narration* of the ſavage Tribes is found to have ſuch a Mixture of *Action* in it, as ſtrongly tends to produce the dramatic Imitation [*b*]. Time, therefore, and repeated Efforts muſt naturally advance the *narrative Epiſode* into *perſonal Repreſentation*. And thus we are arrived at the Form which Tragedy wore, when the inventive Genius of ESCHYLUS advanced the Art one Step higher; and by adding a *ſecond Perſon* to the Drama, brought in the Uſe of *Dialogue*.

Here, for the Sake of Truth, we muſt again depart from the general Body of Critics; moſt of whom, from ARISTOTLE down to our own Times, unite in ſuppoſing that ESCHYLUS was only a caſual Imitator of HOMER, and drew the Idea of all his Tragedies from the ILIAD. A noble Critic of our own Country hath affirmed this in the feweſt and ſtrongeſt Terms; and ſays, that "There "was no more left for Tragedy to do after him (HOMER) "than to erect a Stage, and draw his Dialogues and Cha-"racters into Scenes [*i*]."

It may be deemed preſumptuous, perhaps, to queſtion a Point wherein the great Maſter-Critic of GREECE hath himſelf decided. But let us remember, that the Days are now paſt, when it was held a Point of Honour, to *ſwear* to the *Opinions* of a *Maſter*. ARISTOTLE is often admirable, generally judicious, yet ſometimes perhaps miſtaken, even in his Judgment of Men and Things relative to his own Country. He was more eſpecially capable of being miſled by the common Opinion in this Point; in which neither he nor any of his Countrymen could be ſufficiently informed, for Want of a competent Knowledge of the Genius and Character of ſavage Manners.

That ESCHYLUS was not a mere Imitator of HOMER, that he was a great and original Poet, who exalted his Art one Degree beyond his Predeceſſors in his own Country, ſeems a Point which collateral Arguments ſtrongly confirm. We are informed, in general Terms, that there were no leſs than fifteen tragic Poets who writ before him: And the Probability is much ſtronger, that he ſhould

[*b*] Ibid. [*i*] *Characteriſtics*, vol. i. p. 197.

draw

draw his Improvement from the *ſcenic* Repreſentations already eſtabliſhed, in which he found one dramatic Perſon and an accompanying *Choir*, which, in all Probability, ſtood in the Place of a ſecond Perſon, and often ſuſtained a Kind of Dialogue with the principal Interlocutor [*k*]; than that he ſhould have Recourſe to HOMER's Poems, in which no dramatic Repreſentation was to be found.

To this Argument may be added another, drawn from the Style and Manner of ESCHYLUS, ſo different from that of HOMER. For HOMER is equal, large, flowing, and harmonious: ESCHYLUS is uneven, conciſe, abrupt, and rugged: The one leads you through the grand but gentle Declivities of Hill and Dale; the other carries you over a continued Chain of Rocks and Precipices. Now if HOMER had been the Model of ESCHYLUS, ſome *Similarity* of *Manner* would probably have enſued.

A third and ſtill ſtronger Proof ariſes from the eſſential Difference of their Subjects, both in Extent and Nature: In Extent, becauſe the one is of *long*, the other of *ſhort* Duration: In Nature, becauſe HOMER's Poems are chiefly employed in the Exhibition of *Character* and *Manners*; thoſe of ESCHYLUS in the Repreſentation of *Terror* and *Diſtreſs*. Had he been that mere Imitator of HOMER which the Critics have adjudged him, and had nothing to do but to erect a Stage, and to draw HOMER's Dialogues into Scenes, he would have been content to have taken *his* Subjects from the *Iliad*, and, according to HORACE's ſober Rule, have never ventured beyond the Siege of *Troy* [*l*]. He would have brought upon the Stage the Anger of ACHILLES, the Battle of PARIS and MENELAUS, the Parting of HECTOR and ANDROMACHE, the Feats of DIOMEDE: and would have contraſted the *ſtrength* of AJAX with the *Cunning* of ULYSSES. Nothing of all this

[*k*] This Opinion receives a ſtrong Confirmation from the following Circumſtance, that in the *Greek Tragedies* which have come down to us, whenever there is a ſingle *Interlocutor* on the Stage, the *Choir* frequently maintains a *Dialogue* with him.

[*l*] RECTIUS ILIACOS, &c.

appears:

appears: On the contrary, his *Subjects* and *Manner* are equally *his Own*; and *both* of a Genius oppoſite to thoſe of HOMER.

What PLUTARCH ſays of HOMER, though brought for the contrary Purpoſe, tends to confirm all that is here advanced. "Even Tragedy took its Riſe from HOMER: "For his Poems comprehend every thing that is *ſublime* "and *great* [*m*]." This, you will ſay, is a very inſufficient Reaſon, becauſe the Critic forgets the *pathetic* and the *terrible*, which were the eſſential Conſtituents of the Greek Tragedy. But mark the Sequel; which is ſtill more extraordinary. "Neither do they (HOMER's Po-"ems) contain Deſcriptions of thoſe *atrocious Actions* "which have been feigned by the later Tragedians, "ſuch as *Inceſt*, and the *Murder* of *Parents* or *Children*. "Nay, whenever he happens to touch on any thing of "this Kind, he always *ſoftens* and throws it *into Shades* "[*n*]." Thus while PLUTARCH is labouring to prove, that the *Greek* Tragedy was *drawn* from HOMER, he proves, that HOMER's Poems were *deſtitute* of that which was of the *Eſſence* of the *Greek* Tragedy.

SCALIGER is a venerable exception to the general Body of the Critics on this Subject; and ſeemed to have viewed the Queſtion in its true Light. "In the *Iliad* "(ſaith he) there is nothing like the *Progreſſion* of a "*Tragedy*, if you take the *whole* together: For, from "Beginning to End, there is a *perpetual* Succeſſion of "*Deaths*: He begins with a Peſtilence, which deſtroys "more Men than the whole War [*o*]". The Critic then goes on to prove, by a large Enumeration of Circumſtances, the *Iliad* hath very few of the eſſential Characteriſtics of *Tragedy*.

We may fairly conclude, then, that the Improvement which Tragedy received from ESCHYLUS was not *caſual*, but the Reſult of a *natural Progreſſion*: That he drew not from HOMER's Poems, as a mere Imitator; but exalted his Art one Step higher, from the Force of true *Genius* in the *tragic* Species.

[*m*] *In Vita* HOMERI. [*n*] Ibid. [*o*] *Poet* l. i. c. 5.

What

What followed is well known: SOPHOCLES added a *third* Perſon to the Drama: And by this Improvement is ſaid by the Critics to have *compleated* the Form of Tragedy. The Truth of their Deciſion I much doubt: but this Diſquiſition lies beyond the Limits of our preſent Enquiry.

21. "As the Choir was eſtabliſhed by Nature and "Cuſtom, and animated their Solemnities by *Dance* as "well as *Song*; the Melody, Dance, and Song, did of "Courſe regulate each other; and the Ode or Song naturally fell into *Stanzas* of ſome *particular* Kind." This aroſe by an eaſy Progreſſion from the ſavage State; where "they who dance, go round in a circular Movement, and "after a ſhort interval being a ſecond [*p*]." The *Greeks* not only fell into this Manner, but improved upon it: They went round, firſt to the one Hand, then to the other and then pauſed. The Learned have found out myſtical Reaſons for theſe circular Movements; referring them to the Motion of the Planets [*q*]. Much Labour cannot be neceſſary for the Confutation of theſe Refinements, as the Practice aroſe ſo evidently from the Dictates of Nature: It was a natural and ſenſible Improvement; for the plain Reaſon of *preventing Giddineſs*, which ariſeth from running round in the ſame Circle.

Let us attend, therefore, to its Conſequences. As each *Dance* or *Return* was marked by its peculiar *Meaſure*, this of Courſe fixed both the *Melody* and poetic *Numbers* of the accompanying Song: And as they likewiſe ſung during the *Interval* of *Reſt*, we ſee, that from this eaſy Improvement on the ſavage Song-Feaſt, the *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*, naturally aroſe.

22. "Another Conſequence of the eſtabliſhed *Choir* "was a ſtrict and unvaried Adherence to the *Unities* of "*Place* and *Time*." This Effect is ſo manifeſt as to need little Illuſtration. A numerous *Choir*, maintaining their Station through the whole Performance, gave ſo forcible a Conviction to the Senſes, of the *Sameneſs* of *Place*, and the *Shortneſs* of *Time*, that any Deviation from this ap-

[*p*] See Sect. ii. [*q*] ATHENÆUS *Deip.* l. i.

parent

parent Unity muſt have ſhocked the Imagination with an Improbability too groſs to be indured. Notwithſtanding all the Panegyrics of the Critics, therefore, upon the Greek Tragedians on Account of theſe *Unities*; it is evident, they aroſe in the rudeſt Periods; and were continued through the more poliſhed Ages, on the ſame Principle of untaught Nature and eſtabliſhed Cuſtom.

23. "Not only the Part of the tragic *Choir*, but the "*Epiſode*, or *interlocutory* Part, was alſo *Sung*." The moſt ſenſible of the Critics have ever regarded this as a Circumſtance equally unnatural and unaccountable. Thus DACIER ſpeaks. "It muſt be owned, that we "cannot well comprehend, how Muſic *(Melody)* could "ever be conſidered as in any Reſpect making a Part of "Tragedy: For if there be any thing in the World that "is at Variance with *tragic Action*, it is *Song* [*r*]." The learned Critic is ſo ſhocked with this ſuppoſed Union, in Appearance ſo unnatural, that upon the whole he queſtions its Exiſtence; and is of Opinion, that when ARISTOTLE ſpeaks of *Muſic*, as being annexed to *Tragedy*, he ſpeaks of the *Choir* only [*s*]. This, however, is contrary to the united Voice of Antiquity, which univerſally admits the Fact, though its Origin was never accounted for. But how naturally this union took Place in ancient Tragedy, we now clearly diſcover, by inveſtigating the Riſe and Progreſs of this Poem from the ſavage State. For it appears, that the *Epic* and *Ode* were both ſung from the earlieſt Periods; and therefore, when they became *united*, and by that Union formed the tragic Species, they of Courſe maintained the ſame Appendage of *Melody*, which Nature and Cuſtom had already given them.

The *Abbé du* Bos endeavours to prove, indeed, that the *Song* which was employed in the *Epiſode* of ancient Tragedy was no more than a Kind of *regulated* or *meaſured Declamation* [*t*]. But his Inquiries are partial; for he goes no higher than to the Practice of the *Romans*: And it is probable, from ſeveral Circumſtances, that in the

[*r*] *Sur* ARISTOTE, p. 85, &c. [*s*] Ibid.
[*t*] *Reflec. Crit.* Part iii. c. 4, &c.

late

late Period when the *Romans* borrowed their Muſic from the *Greeks*, the Tragic *Song* had been brought down from a *meaſured Melody* to a kind of *regulated Declamation*. Thus, TULLY mentions the *Cantus Subobſcurus*; and again ſaith, "Delicatiores ſunt falſæ Voculæ quam certæ "et ſeveræ." But though theſe, with ſeveral other Arguments alledged by the *Abbé*, ſeem to imply that the tragic *Song* was little more than a meaſured Recitation; yet this will by no means prove, that a more full and direct Song had not been uſed in Tragedy thro' the more early Periods. In the Courſe of this Diſſertation, the Practice of *ſinging* Tragedy hath been traced from its firſt Riſe in ſavage Manners; which at once deſtroys the *Improbability* of the Cuſtom, and proves that it was even founded in Nature; a Circumſtance, of which the *Abbé* had not the leaſt Suſpicion. This Foundation being laid, we cannot but liſten attentively to what the early Writers of GREECE tell us on this Subject: Now theſe unite in informing us, that the *Epiſode* of Tragedy was *Sung*; and even name the *Modes* of Muſic which were appropriated to the *Epiſode*, in Contradiſtinction to the *Choir* [*u*]. That the *Song* ſhould approach nearer, by Degrees, to mere Declamation, will appear probable, when we conſider the gradual Separations which ſucceſſively took Place in the muſical Art, during the ſucceſſive Periods of GREECE and ROME. To mention only one Inſtance here, ſimilar to what we now treat of: ARISTOTLE informs us, that in *His* Time the *Rhapſodiſts*, whoſe Profeſſion it was to *ſing* the Poems of HOMER and HESIOD, were beginning to make Inroads into the ancient Practice; and now *recited* thoſe *Poems*, which in *former Times* had been always *ſung* [*w*].

The *Abbé* falls into an Error with Reſpect to the *Dance*, parallel to that which he adopts with Regard to the *Melody* of the Ancients. As he inſiſts that their *tragic Melody* was only a *meaſured Recitation*, ſo he affirms, that their *tragic Dance* was no more than *Action* [*x*]. It is true, that in the later Periods of *Rome*, when the muſical Sepa-

[*u*] ARISTOT. *Prob.* 19. [*w*] *Poet.* c. 26.
[*x*] *Reflec.* Part. iii. c. 13.

rations

rations had taken Place, this was the general Meaning of the Word *Saltatio:* And hence, as in his Opinion of the tragic Song, his Miſtake aroſe. For it is evident from the concurrent Teſtimony of the elder *Greek* Writers, that the *tragic Dance* was performed in the very Manner here deſcribed. We now ſee, that this *Dance* (no leſs than the *tragic Song*) aroſe from untaught Nature; and that it was the genuine Parent of the *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*.

24. "As the *Greek* Nation was of a *fierce* and *warlike* "Character, their tragic Repreſentations rowled chiefly "on Subjects of *Diſtreſs* and *Terror*."—On this Topic, I doubt whether ARISTOTLE hath not miſtaken an *Effect* for a *Cauſe*. For he ſays, that "Tragedy, by means of "*Pity* and *Terror*, purgeth in us *Thoſe* and other ſuch like "*Paſſions* [*y*]" MARCUS AURELIUS [*z*], MILTON [*a*], DACIER [*b*], and BRUMOY [*c*], all underſtand him, as meaning that Tragedy was formed *with this View*. It is not the Writer's Deſign to remark on this great Critic, farther than what relates to his main Subject. Therefore it will ſuffice to ſay, that if ARISTOTSE meant to aſſign this *moral End*, as the *Cauſe* why Tragedy aſſumed this Form in ancient GREECE, and adopted Subjects of *Diſtreſs* and *Terror*, He ſeems to have taken That for a *Cauſe*, which was a *natural Effect* of the ruling *Manners* of the *Greek* Republics. The Reaſons which ſupport the general Truth, already given in the correſpondent Article, will hold their Force when applied here. For thus the *Greeks* animated each other to *Victory* and *Revenge*, by a Repreſentation of what their Friends had *done* and *ſuffered*. Theſe Subjects would likewiſe be moſt accommodated to the natural Taſte of the poetic Chiefs of ſuch a People; whoſe *Atchievements* produced and abounded with Events of *Diſtreſs* and *Terror*. Such then was the natural Origin and Adoption of theſe Subjects in the *Greek Tragedy*: But after they were eſtabliſhed on this Foundation, 'tis pro-

[*y*] *Poet.* c. 6. [*z*] L. xi. Art. 6. [*a*] *Preface to* SAMSON AGONISTES. [*b*] *Poet. d'Ariſt.* [*c*] *Theat. des Grecs*, tom. i. p. 85.

bable

bable that the Stateſmen encouraged and applied them to the *Ends* of Policy. For as the leading View of a fierce and warlike People muſt be to *deſtroy Pity* and *Fear*; ſo This would moſt effectually be done, by making themſelves familiar with diſtreſsful and terrible Repreſentations. Under theſe Reſtrictions, the Opinion of ARISTOTLE may have a Foundation in Nature: Farther than this, and as applied to any People whoſe End is not *War* and *Conqueſt*, it carries the Appearance of a refined Idea, which hath no Foundation in Nature. The grand ſcenic Repreſentations of the *Peruvians* and *Chineſe* (as will appear below [*d*]) whoſe leading Object was *Peace*, are known to be of a quite contrary Nature, formed on their gentler Manners; and ſuch as would have been altogether incompatible with the warlike Character, and inſipid to the Taſte of the Tribes of ancient GREECE.

25. "Their Tragedy being deſigned as a viſible Repre-" ſentation of their ancient Gods and Heroes, they in-" vented a Method of ſtrengthening the Voice, and ag-" grandizing the Viſage and Perſon, as the Means of com-" pleating the Reſemblance." It is generally known, that the old *Grecian Gods* were ſuppoſed to be of a Stature *exceeding* that of *ordinary* Men: And the true Reaſon of that Opinion was, becauſe in the early Ages they (like every other barbarous People [*e*]) ſelected the *talleſt* and *ſtrongeſt* Men for their *Chiefs*: Which Chiefs in Courſe of Time became their *Gods*. Hence the *Buſkin* and *Maſque* had their natural Birth: For the firſt *heightened* the *Stature*, as the ſecond *inlarged* the *Viſage*. and *ſtrengthened* the *Voice* of the dramatic Actor. And although the common Accounts mention nothing of the *Inlargement* of the *Body*; yet we learn from LUCIAN, that the *Breaſt*, *Back*, and all the *Limbs*, were *amplified* in Proportion to the *Viſage* and *Stature* [*f*]: Manifeſtly as the Means of compleating the Reſemblance of their Gods and Heroes.

By thus tracing the *Buſkin* and *Maſque* to their true Origin, we ſhall now be able to give a Reaſon for a Fact,

[*d*] Sect. viii. [*e*] See LAFITAU, and other Travellers. [*f*] *De Saltatione.*

which

which hath hitherto been regarded as merely the Effect of Whim and Caprice. THESPIS and his *Company* bedaubed their Faces with the *Lees* of *Wine*. Whence aroſe this Practice, ſeemingly ſo wild? THESPIS and his *Company* were the Votaries of BACCHUS, and exhibited his Exploits, and ſung his Praiſes to their Countrymen: Their uſe of the *Lees* of *Wine*, therefore, was intended as the Means of compleating the *Reſemblance* of their *drunken God* and his *Crew*.

26. " As their *tragic Poets* were *Singers*, ſo they were " *Actors*, and generally performed ſome capital Part, in " their own Pieces for the Stage." This Fact hath generally been held extraordinary and unaccountable: And hath been reſolved, it ſeems, by ſome Talkers on this Subject, into the *Want* of *Actors* in the *early* Periods. We now clearly diſcover a contrary Cauſe: The Practice took Place when the *higheſt* Characters were *proud* to ſignalize themſelves as *Actors:* When Legiſlators and Bards aſſumed the *Lyriſt's* and *Actor's* Character, as the Means of civilizing their ſurrounding Tribe: Therefore, till ſome extraordinary Change in Manners and Principles ſhould enſue, the original Union eſtabliſhed by Nature and Cuſtom was of courſe maintained in GREECE. SOPHOCLES was the firſt on Record who quitted this honourable Employ: And He, only becauſe his Voice was unequal to the Vaſtneſs of the *Athenian* Stage. That he quitted it on this Principle alone, appears from his Conduct on other Occaſions: For he not only *Sung* his *own* Verſes, but likewiſe *led* the *Dance* at a public Triumph [*g*].

27. " MUSICAL *Conteſts* were admitted as public Ex- " erciſes in the *Grecian* States." For the Truth of This, we have the concurrent Evidence of many ancient Writers. That Union of *Gymnaſtic* and *muſical* Exerciſes which took Place in the early Periods of the *Greek* Republics, hath by ſome Writers been regarded as *unnatural:* by all, as *accidental*. Thus a learned Author ſays, " To " theſe *Gymnaſtic* Exerciſes were added others of a quite

[*g*] ATHEN. *Deipn.* l. i.

" *different*

" *different Nature* [*b*]." But by following this Eſtabliſhment up to its firſt Principles, we have now found, that in Fact the *Gymnaſtic* Exerciſes were originally a *Part* of the *muſical* [*i*], being no more than the improved *Dance*, which was a Branch of ancient *Muſic*. In Proceſs of Time, as hath been proved, the *Dance* or *Gymnaſtic* Art was generally ſeparated from the *Melody* and *Song*: But it is remarkable, that in all their public Games or Conteſts, from the earlieſt to the lateſt Periods, theſe ſeveral Branches of Muſic, either ſeparate or in Union, compoſed the eſſential Parts of their public Exhibitions.

The learned STRABO hath left us the moſt particular Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Pythian Games; which entirely coincides with the Principles here given [*k*]. " In ancient Times, there was a Conteſt of Muſicians, " who ſung Pæans in Celebration of the God APOLLO. " This was eſtabliſhed at DELPHI, after the *Criſſæan* " War." - So far, we ſee, the muſical Conteſt maintained its original Savage Form, without any Separation of the Dance. " Afterwards, the *Amphictyons*, under EURY- " LOCHUS, inſtituted the *equeſtrian* and *Gymnaſtic* Con- " teſt; appointing a Crown as the Conqueror's Reward: " And theſe Games were called the *Pythian* [*l*]." Here, we ſee, in a later Period, the Eſtabliſhment aſſumed its political Form; a Separation enſued; the *Dance* was heightened into the *Gymnaſtic* Art, for the Reaſons aſſigned above.

We have already ſeen the Form of this muſical Conteſt, as deſcribed by STRABO [*m*]. We have obſerved, that other ancient Authors, with great Shew of Probability, deduce its Origin from APOLLO himſelf [*n*]. SCALIGER, ſpeaking of the Riſe of theſe *Pythian* Games, makes no Doubt of their having been inſtituted by APOLLO [*o*]. But not knowing the true Origin of the *Gymnaſtic* Art, as having originally made a Part of the *muſical*, and ſuppoſing (according to the common Syſtem) that theſe Games were

[*b*] POTTER *Arch. Græc.* [*i*] See above, Art. 19.
[*k*] Ibid. [*l*] STRABO, ib. [*m*] Art. 19.
[*n*] Ibid. [*o*] *Poet.* l. i. c. 23.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed as an *imitative Memorial* of the *particular Action* performed, he adds with great Candour, "I wonder, conſidering that he killed the *Python* with an *Arrow*, that he did not inſtitute a *Contention* of *Archers*, rather than *Muſicians* [*p*]." This Doubt, ſo candidly expreſſed, throws new Light upon the Queſtion; and is a collateral Circumſtance of Proof, that theſe Games had their Origin in the ſavage *Song-Feaſt*, which in aftertimes branched out into the *Gymnaſtic* Arts.

So much concerning the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Pythian* Games; which ſufficiently clears our Subject. As to the Origin and Progreſs of the Olympic Games, it is much hid in the Darkneſs of diſtant Ages. They are generally aſcribed to the *Idæan* HERCULES, who is ſaid to have given them the Name of *Olympic*. But if we attend to Arguments of Probability, ariſing from the Analogy of Names, we ſhall rather be led to attribute their Inſtitution to the *Olympian* JUPITER; eſpecially, as Tradition ſupports this Conjecture at leaſt as ſtrongly as the other. For PAUSANIAS informs us, that "there are who ſay, "that JUPITER contended for Empire with SATURN, in "this very Place: Others affirm, that having vanquiſhed "the *Titans*, He (JUPITER) inſtituted theſe Games, in "which others too are ſaid to have been Conquerors; "that APOLLO vanquiſhed MERCURY in the *Race*, and "overcame MARS at *boxing* [*q*]." All this agrees ſo entirely with the Character and Contentions of ſavage Chieftains, as to create a ſtrong Probability of the Truth of the Tradition. This we know, however, that Muſical Conteſts made an eſſential Part of theſe magnificent Exhibitions; and that PINDAR ſung his Odes, and was often *crowned* as *Victor* in theſe public Conteſts.

The *Iſthmian* and *Nemean* Games, having been inſtituted in later Periods, when a Separation of the Dance had been already made, and conſequently the *Gymnaſtic* Arts already eſtabliſhed, we cannot properly draw any Concluſions from Theſe, relative to the preſent Queſtion.

[*p*] Ibid. [*q*] PAUSANIAS, l. v.

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The *tragic Conteſts*, which followed on the Improvement of that Species of Poetry, are too well known to need any particular Delineation. Let it ſuffice, that we have traced them up to their firſt rude Form and Origin, in the muſical Conteſt at DELPHI, as deſcribed by STRABO [*r*]. They were re-eſtabliſhed in their more improved State by CIMON, when that General brought the Remains of THESEUS to ATHENS. The three great tragic Bards, ESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, all *contended* and were *crowned* by turns.

This general Eſtabliſhment of muſical Conteſts, which hath been ſo often held trifling and unaccountable, appears now to have been founded in true Policy and Wiſdom. "For as the leading Articles of their "Religion, Morals, and Polity, made a Part of their "public Songs; ſo, public Conteſts of this Kind were "juſtly regarded as the ſureſt Means of keeping up an "Emulation of a moſt uſeful Nature; and of ſtrengthening the State, by inforcing the fundamental Prin"ciples of Society, in the moſt agreeable, moſt ſtrik"ing, and moſt effectual Manner."

28. "The Profeſſion of *Bard* or *Muſician* was held "as very *honourable*, and of high Eſteem." We have ſeen the Foundation of This, in the fifteenth Article of the preſent Section. For he was veſted with a Kind of public Character; and if not an original Legiſlator, was at leaſt a ſubordinate and uſeful Servant of the State: And as the Utility of his Profeſſion was ſuch as aroſe from *Genius*, perſonal Reſpect and Honour was the natural Conſequence in a *well ordered Republic*. The Facts which ſupport this Truth, with regard to ancient GREECE, are commonly known, from the *Crowns*, *Triumphs*, and other Marks of public and appointed Regard, beſtowed on the *Victors* in the muſical Conteſts.

29. "ODES and *Hymns* made a Part of their domeſ"tic Entertainment; and the Chiefs were proud to

[*r*] See above, Art. 19.

" ſignalize themſelves, by their Skill in *Melody* and " *Song*."——This is generally known; and needs no particular Proof. It is introduced here, that it may be accounted for: Becauſe it hath been held a Practice unworthy the Character of *Legiſlators* and *Heroes*, to be ambitious of *ſinging* and *playing* on the Lyre. But if we examine the Nature of the ancient Songs of GREECE, we ſhall find that the Performance of them was worthy of the higheſt Characters. It was uſual for all who were at their Entertainments, firſt to ſing together the Praiſes of the Gods [*s*]: Then they ſung ſucceſſively, one by one, holding a Branch of *Myrtle* in their Hand, which was ſent round the Table [*t*]. In later Times, when the *Lyre* came more into Uſe, *this* Inſtrument was ſent round inſtead of the *Myrtle*; and in this Period it was, that their Songs aſſumed the Name of *Scolia* [*u*].

The Songs were chiefly of the three great Claſſes, *religious*, *political*, and *moral*. Of the firſt Claſs, ATHENÆUS hath preſerved no leſs than five: One to PALLAS, one to CERES, one to APOLLO, one to PAN, and one to all the tutelary Gods of ATHENS [*w*].

Of the ſecond Claſs, the *political*, in which their *Heroes* were celebrated, though not advanced to the Rank of *Gods*, the ſame Author hath given us ſeveral; in which, AJAX, TELAMON, HARMODIUS, the *Heroes* who fell at LEIPSIDRION, ADMETUS, the *Olympic* Victors, and others, were celebrated at their private Entertainments [*x*].

Of the third or *moral* Claſs [*y*] ATHENÆUS hath likewiſe tranſmitted to us a Collection. Of this Kind we find one upon the *Vanity* and *Miſchiefs* of *Riches*, one upon *Prudence*, one upon the comparative Excellence of the *Goods* of Life; one upon *Friendſhip*, one upon the *Choice* of *Friends*, one upon *falſe Friends*; and a fine

[*s*] PLUT. *Symp.* l. i. q. i. ATHEN. *Deip.* l. xv.
[*t*] PLUT. ib. [*u*] PLUT. ib. ATHEN. ib.
[*w*] ATHEN. ib. [*x*] ATHEN. ib.
[*y*] ATHEN. ib.

one

one of ARISTOTLE on the *Force of Virtue*, which may be ſaid in ſome Meaſure to comprehend all the three Kinds, *religious*, *political*, and *Moral*.

Such being the Nature of the old *Grecian Songs*, and the whole Nation having been prepared to perform and liſten to them with Reverence by a correſpondent Education; no Wonder that the higheſt Characters in the Commonwealth bore a Part in their Performance at private Entertainments: "For their Songs being enriched with the great and important Subjects relative to their public State, and being the *eſtabliſhed* "*Vehicle* of *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*; nothing could "be more ſuitable to a high Station in the Commonwealth, than a Proficiency in this *ſublime* and *legiſlative Art*."

30. "When *Muſic* had attained to this State of relative *Perfection*, it was eſteemed a *neceſſary Accompliſhment*: And an Ignorance in this Art was regarded as a capital Defect." Of this we have an Inſtance, even in THEMISTOCLES himſelf, who was upbraided with his Ignorance in Muſic [*z*]. The whole Country of *Cynæthe* laboured under a parallel Reproach [*a*]: And all the enormous *Crimes* committed there, were attributed by the neighbouring States to the *Neglect* of *Muſic*.——What Wonder? For according to the Delineation here given of the ancient Greek Muſic, their Ignorance in this noble Art implied a general Deficiency in the three great Articles of a ſocial Education, *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*.

31. "The Genius of their Muſic varied along "with their Manners." Of this Truth we have had abundant Proofs, in the Courſe of this Diſſertation; where we have ſeen Muſic (in its ancient and inlarged Senſe) emerge from the Rudeneſs of barbarous Life, and improve through the ſucceſſive Periods of improving Manners. We ſhall ſoon ſee a parallel Decline of this noble Art, ariſing from an equivalent Cauſe: For Manners being the leading and "moſt eſſential Quality

[*z*] CICERO *Tuſc.* l. i. [*a*] ATHENÆUS, POLYBIUS.

" of Man, All his other Taſtes and Acquirements na-
" turally correſpond with Theſe; and accommodate
" themſelves to his Manners, as to their original
" Cauſe."

32. " As every Change of Manners influenced their
" Muſic, ſo by a reciprocal Action, every conſidera-
" ble Change of Muſic influenced their Manners."
The Facts which prove this, will be given in the thirty fourth Article. In the mean Time, the Reaſon is evident: For not only the Paſſion for *Novelty* and *Change* was immediately dangerous to the *Stability* of *ſmall Republics*; but ſtill farther, as *Muſic* was the eſtabliſhed *Vehicle* of all the great Principles of *Education*, a Change in *Muſic* inevitably brought on a Change in *Theſe*.

33. " There was a provident Community, of Prin-
" ciples uncommonly ſevere, which fixed the Subjects
" and Movements of Song and Dance, by Law."
This provident Community was that of SPARTA. The Practice was not peculiar to this wiſe though barbarous Commonwealth. It was borrowed from CRETE; and came originally from EGYPT; where the ſame provident Inſtitution had taken Place in earlier Ages.—In that great Fountain of ancient Polity, not only the Art of *Muſic* in its enlarged Senſe, but even that of *Painting*, was fixed and made unalterable by Law [*b*]. PLATO, who informs us of This, gives a particular Detail of the muſical Eſtabliſhment, which ſets the Principle in a clear Light, and corroborates what is here advanced. " All their Songs and Dances are
" conſecrated to the Gods: It is ordained, what Sa-
" crifices ſhall be offered to each Deity, and what
" *Songs* and *Choirs* ſhall be appointed to each Sacri-
" fice: But if any Perſon makes uſe of *Hymns* or
" *Choirs* in the Worſhip of the Gods, other than what
" is appointed by *Law*, the Prieſts and Magiſtrates
" expel him the Community [*c*]. " Hence (ſaith
" PLATO in another Place) " their *Muſic* is found to
" have continued *uncorrupted*, and the *ſame*, for thou-

[*b*] PLATO *de Legibus*, l. ii. [*c*] *De Leg. l.* vii.

ſands

" ſands of Years [*d*]." A Stroke of Polity, fatal indeed to *Art*, but excellent with Reſpect to the Stability and Duration of a State. This uncommon effort of *Egyptian* Legiſlation the *Spartan* Lawgiver adopted from CRETE; and by this ſevere Eſtabliſhment is ſaid " three Times to have ſaved the State." Innovations were attempted by three different Muſicians, TERPANDER, TIMOTHEUS, and PHRYNNIS [*e*]: And as the very Sentence of the *Spartan* Senate againſt one of theſe Incroachers on the ſevere Simplicity of the Commonwealth is yet preſerved; it may not be diſagreeable to the Reader, to preſent him with this curious Remnant of Antiquity. " Whereas TIMOTHEUS the " *Mileſian*, coming into our City, and deſpiſing the " ancient Muſic; rejecting alſo that Melody which " ariſeth from ſeven Strings; and ſetting off his Mu- " ſic by a Multiplicity of Strings, and a new Species " of Melody, corrupts the Ears of our Youth; and " inſtead of that which is legitimate and pure, cor- " rupting the *Enharmonic* by new, various, and *Chro-* " *matic* Sounds; and being called to the *Eleuſinian* " Myſteries, did divulge the Secrets of that Inſtitu- " tion;——It ſeemed good to the *Senate* and *Rhetors*, " that TIMOTHEUS ſhould be called to Account for " theſe Proceedings; that he ſhould be compelled to " cut off the four ſuperfluous Strings from his Lyre, " leaving the ſeven ancient Tones; and that he be " baniſhed to a Diſtance from the City; that hence " forward none may dare to introduce any new and " dangerous Cuſtom into SPARTA; leſt the Honour " of our muſical Conteſts ſhould be defiled [*f*]."

In this Edict, we ſee the jealous Spirit of a Republic, which could only ſubſiſt by a rigorous Simplicity of Manners, and an unalterable Obedience to its Laws. There hath been much ill-founded Ridicule thrown on the *Spartans* for this Deciſion: For if we conſider the

[*d*] Ibid. l. ii. [*e*] ATHEN. *Deip.* l. xiv.

[*f*] ARATI PHÆNOMENA, *Ed. Oxon.* at the End of which this Edict is preſerved.

dangerous Effects of mere *Innovation* in *ſmall Republics*, and the cloſe Connexion between the *Melody* and the *Subject* in ancient *Muſic*, together with the early and continued Application of *Theſe* to the *Education* of their Youth, we ſhall find, that in this Inſtance the *Spartans* only acted a cautious and conſiſtent Part. Their Principle was, to admit *no Change* in *Manners*, and therefore *no Change* in *Muſic*. The deſigned Innovation of TIMOTHEUS, therefore, would have deſtroyed the firſt leading Principle, the very Genius of their Republic; and, conſequently, muſt have been fatal to the Republic itſelf.

34. "In the Commonwealths which were of more "libertine and relaxed Principles, and particularly in "that of ATHENS, the Corruption of Manners "brought on the Corruption of Muſic; and this Cor- "ruption of Muſic ſtill farther corrupted Manners; "the Muſicians, Bards, or Poets, being the immediate "Inſtruments of the Corruption." This mutual Influence of Manners and Muſic on each other hath been already explained in two preceding Articles [*g*]. And the Truth of theſe Reaſonings is confirmed by Facts, which PLATO gives us at large, in the following moſt remarkable Paſſage.

"The People (of ATHENS) did not in former "Times controul the Laws, but willingly obeyed "them. I mean thoſe Laws which were made con- "cerning Muſic. For Muſic was then preciſely di- "ſtinguiſhed into its ſeveral Kinds: One was appro- "priated to the Supplication and Praiſes of the Gods: "Theſe were called *Hymns*. Another Species was the "lamenting or pathetic: A third was the *Pæan* or "Song of Triumph: A fourth was the *Dithyrambic*; "and a fifth conſiſted in ſinging ancient *Laws* or *Pro- "verbs* [*h*]. In Theſe and other Subjects eſtabliſhed "by Law, it was not allowed to uſe one Kind of "Melody inſtead of another: Each Kind had its par- "ticular Appropriation. The Power of deciding on

[*g*] Art. 31, 32. [*h*] See Art. 6.

"Theſe,

" Theſe, and of condemning in Caſe of Diſobedience,
" was not committed to the Hiſſes and fooliſh Cla-
" mours of the Multitude, as is now the Practice:
" Neither was the Liberty of intemperate Praiſe al-
" lowed to a noiſy Croud: This deciſion was left to
" Men diſtinguiſhed by their Senſe and Knowledge;
" and a general Silence was maintained, till they had
" heard the Concluſion of the Work. The young
" Men, their Governors, and all the People, were o-
" bedient to the Motions of a Wand. While this good
" Order was maintained, the Multitude willingly
" obeyed, nor dared to decide any thing in a tumul-
" tuous Manner. But in Courſe of Time, the Poets
" themſelves were acceſſary to a fatal Change in Mu-
" ſic: They wanted not Genius; but had no Regard
" to what was juſt and legitimate; running into Ex-
" travagance, and too much indulging the Vein of
" Pleaſure. Hence they confounded all the ſeveral
" Kinds together; affirming that *mere Taſte* and *Plea-*
" *ſure*, whether it were that of a *good* or a *wicked* Man,
" was the only *Criterion* of *Muſic*. In Conſequence of
" this, they compoſed their *Poems* on the ſame Princi-
" ple; and thus rendered the *Multitude* ſo *bold* and
" *daring* againſt the *eſtabliſhed Muſic*, that they aſſu-
" med to themſelves the ſole Right of deciding on it.
" Hence the Theatres began to be in Uproar, where
" formerly Silence had reigned: And thus the Pri-
" vilege of *judging* fell from the *Rulers* of the State to
" the *Dregs* of the People. Had this Authority been
" aſſumed by the *liberal* Part of the City, no great
" Harm had followed: But now, from this *corrupt*
" *Change* in *Muſic*, a *general Licentiouſneſs* of *Opinion*
" hath enſued.—The Conſequence of this hath been,
" that we no longer are diſpoſed to obey the Magi-
" ſtrate: Hence, too, that other Evil flows, that
" we deſpiſe the Authority and Precepts of our Pa-
" rents, and the Advice and Wiſdom of Old Age.
" And as we are riſing towards the Extreme of this
" Corruption, we now refuſe Obedience to the Laws:

" And to fill up the Meaſure of our Iniquities, all *Re-*
" *ligion* and mutual *Faith* are *loſt* among us [*i*]."

Such is the Picture which the philoſophic PLATO hath left of his Time and Country: A Picture too well confirmed by the concurrent Teſtimony of XENOPHON [*k*]; in whoſe Accounts, together with thoſe of PLUTARCH [*l*], we ſhall ſoon ſee a particular Delineation of the Progreſs of this Evil, which PLATO here deſcribes in general Terms.

Let us conclude this Article with the Explanation of a Subject which hath not hitherto been clearly treated of, for want of a juſt Idea of the ancient *Greek Muſic*. The learned VOSSIUS thus expreſſeth himſelf: " It
" is a doubtful Point, whether we ſhould ſay, that on
" a Change of Muſic, a Change of Manners enſues;
" or that a Change of Manners produceth a Change
" in Muſic: The firſt was DAMON's Opinion which
" PLATO follows: But CICERO leans to the latter
" Syſtem [*m*]." On this Paſſage it is neceſſary firſt to obſerve, that both VOSSIUS and CICERO uſe the Word *Muſic* in its *modern* Acceptation, as implying mere *Melody*. No Wonder, therefore, if they had but an imperfect Comprehenſion of PLATO's Argument. Secondly, On the Principles delivered in this Diſſertation, it will appear, that PLATO was of both theſe Opinions, " That Manners influenced Muſic, and
" Muſic influenced Manners." In the Paſſage which VOSSIUS refers to, where the Opinion of DAMON is delivered, PLATO ſpeaks of a Change in Muſic as influencing the Manners of a Commonwealth: This Change he regards, as opening a Door for Confuſion and Novelty in an Affair of public Conſequence; ſimilar to a Neglect of Reverence to old Men, Parents, or Magiſtrates, or any other ancient and approved Cuſtoms that were connected with the public Welfare: and in this Reſpect, the Influence of the Greek Muſic,

[*i*] *De Legibus*, l. iii. [*k*] See below, Sect. vii. Art. 5. [*l*] See ib. [*m*] VOSSIUS.

as

as now explained, on the Manners of Mankind is too evident to need any farther Proof.

On the other Hand, it is no leſs evident, that PLATO was of Opinion, that a Corruption of Manners muſt corrupt Muſic. He hath ſhewn us in the Paſſage given above, that the Boldneſs and Degeneracy of the People of ATHENS firſt allured the Poets to debaſe their Art, by ſinging ſuch Poems as were accommodated to their vicious Taſte founded on their vicious Manners: That as Manners had thus debaſed Muſic, ſo this corrupt Muſic by a natural Reaction ſtill farther corrupted Manners, and compleated the Deſtruction of Religion and Virtue.

35. "In Conſequence of theſe Progreſſions, a gradual and total Separation of the Bard's complex Character enſued. The Leader of the State no longer was ambitious of the muſical Art; nor the Poet deſcended to the Profeſſion of Lyriſt, Singer, or Actor: Becauſe theſe Profeſſions, which in the earlieſt Ages had been the Means of inculcating every thing laudable and great, grew by Degrees of leſs and leſs Importance; and being at length perverted to the contrary Purpoſes, were in the End diſdained by the wiſe and virtuous." Theſe gradual Separations of the ſeveral Branches of the Bard's complex Office, and of Melody, Dance, and Song, are not incurious in their Progreſſion.—We have ſeen that in the *earlieſt* Ages, the *Gods* or *Legiſlators* themſelves aſſumed the full and complex Character; that they were *Poets*, *Lyriſts*, *Singers* and *Dancers*. The *Dance* ſeems firſt to have been ſeparated from the *Melody* and *Song*, being ſoon heightened into the *Gymnaſtic* Art. The *Legiſlators* by Degrees quitted the ſeveral Parts of the *Muſician's* Character: a Separation which naturally aroſe from decreaſing Enthuſiaſm, and increaſing Cares of Government. As LINUS and ORPHEUS were the firſt, ſo PYTHAGORAS and SOLON ſeem to have been the laſt, who *compoſed* Songs and *ſung* them to the ſurrounding People.—The Profeſſion of *Bard* or *Muſician* was now become a *ſecondary*, but

reſpectable Character, as being an Aſſiſtant to the Magiſtrate, and an uſeful Servant of the State, a Teacher of Religion and Morals. The Bard *ſung* and *played* always, and led the *Dance* occaſionally: But when HOMER's Poems had eclipſed every other Epic Strain, another Separation followed: The *Rhapſodiſts* aroſe in GREECE: They ſung HOMER's Poems to large ſurrounding Audiences: They were ſtrictly his *Repreſentatives*, who now gave his Poems to the People, with that Poetic Fire and Rapture which the Bard himſelf had poſſeſſed and exerted: For in PLATO's *Ion*, the *Rhapſodiſt* ſays, that "when he ſings a piteous "Tale, his Eyes ſwim with Tears; when he ſings a "terrible Event, his Heart beats, and his Hair ſtands "erect." In the earlier Ages of Tragedy, the Poet both acted and ſung: But in the Time of SOPHOCLES, another Separation, parallel to the laſt, enſued; and the Province of *Actor* began to be diſtinct from that of *Poet*.——Soon after this Time, we find in the Paſſage quoted above from PLATO, that a Separation of the *whole* Art of *Muſic* from its *proper Ends* took Place at ATHENS: Its ſalutary Effects were now loſt: and as at this Period the Paſſion for illiberal *Comedy* came on, ſo we learn from the concurrent Teſtimony of PLUTARCH [*n*] and other Authors [*o*], that the Exhibition of *Tragedy* at ATHENS had now degenerated into mere *Pomp* and *Shew*, equally expenſive and pernicious. The ſame reſpectable Ancient aſſures us, that the *Dance*, which had formerly been ſeparated from the *Song* for warlike Purpoſes, was now corrupted by the *Mimes* in a very extraordinary Degree [*p*]. The Conſequence of theſe Corruptions ſoon ſhewed themſelves in a ſubſequent Period: Hence, in the Age of PLATO, another Separation had come on: For now the complex Name of αοιδος or *Bard* was diſuſed; and that of ποιητης or *Poet* had aſſumed its Place: And as the *Legiſlator's* Office had formerly been ſeparated from the *Bard's*; ſo

[*n*] *Sympoſ.* l. vii. [*o*] JUSTIN, l. vi.
[*p*] *Sympoſ* l. ix. qu. 15.

now,

now, in Conſequence of this Corruption, and as a natural Effect of Muſic's ſinking into a mere *Amuſement*, the *Poet*'s Character became quite diſtinct from that of *Chriſt*, *Actor*, or *Dancer*, and theſe diſtinct from each other [*q*]. For the *moral* End being now *forgot*, and nothing but *Amuſement* attended to, a higher Proficiency in theſe Arts became neceſſary, and conſequently a more ſevere Application to each.—We muſt now go back a little, to catch the Riſe of another Separation: An Inroad was made into the Muſe's Territories: The public muſical Contentions admitted *Proſe*, as an Aſpirant to the Palm originally due to *Poetry* and *Song*. HERODOTUS was the firſt who was crowned for *writing* and *ſpeaking* (or more properly for *ſinging*) *Hiſtory* at the public Conteſt [*r*]: And it is remarkable, that although He brought down the *Song* to the *proſaic* Manner, yet ſtill his Work attained the *fabulous Air*, as well as the *Appellation* of the *Muſes:* All which Circumſtances, conſidered in Union, may lead us to the true *poetic* and *fabling* Genius of his celebrated Hiſtory. THUCIDIDES hints at this Practice in the Beginning of his noble Work [*s*]: Declaring, that he means it not as a mere Exerciſe for the *public Conteſt*; but as a valuable Poſſeſſion for *After-Ages*. In later Times it became a common Practice for *Sophiſts* and *Rhetoricians* to contend in *Proſe*, at the *Olympic* Games, for the Crown of Glory [*t*].—The *Delphic Oracles* kept pace with theſe progreſſive Separations: In the early Periods they were delivered by the *Pythia*, with frantic Geſture (*Dance*) *Melody*, and *Rythm* [*u*]. In a ſucceeding Age, we find the *Pythia* hath quitted her complex Character; *Poets* are appointed for the Service of the Temple, and turn the *Oracles* into *Verſe:* But in the later Times, this Practice had alſo ceaſed; and the *Oracles* were given in plain Proſe [*w*].——In the

[*q*] PLATO *de Repub.* l. ii. [*r*] LUCIAN, HERODOTUS. [*s*] L. i c. 6. [*t*] LUCIAN *de Salt.* [*u*] Above, Art. 8. [*w*] STRABO, l. ix. CICERO *de Div.* l. ii.

Days

Days of ARISTOTLE, a general and almoſt a total Separation had taken Place. The Art of playing on the *Lyre*, which had been the *Glory* of their early *Legiſlators*, was now regarded as a *Reproach* to a young *King*: The Art of *ſinging*, which had once been a diſtinguiſhing attribute of their *Gods*, was now reckoned an ignoble Practice for a *Man* [*x*]: The *Chorus* of ſome of their Dramas gave Way to *Melody* merely *inſtrumental*, which now firſt aſſumed the Name of *Muſic*: The *Rhapſodiſts* had, about this Time, begun to quit a Part of *Their* Profeſſion; and inſtead of *ſinging*, often *recited* HOMER's Poems [*y*]. To conclude all, the great Maſter Critic and Politician of GREECE, viewing Muſic in that corrupt State which it held in his own Time, though he ſtill aſſerts its Uſe in private Education, gives up the public Muſical Exhibitions, as only fit to gratify the Taſte of an abandoned people [*z*]. But in the later Period when PLUTARCH writ, its Utility had vaniſhed even in private Life: For He declares, that *Muſic*, which had formerly been ſo important and ſalutary in its Effects, was now become a mere Amuſement of the Theatre, and no longer applied to the Education of Youth [*a*].

36. "Hence the Power, the Dignity, and Utility "of *Muſic* ſunk into a general Corruption and Con- "tempt." This is a Conſequence too manifeſt to need a Proof.—And thus we have attempted to unfold the Nature, Riſe, Progreſs, Power, Perfection, and Corruption of MUSIC in ancient GREECE; from the earlieſt Times, when it was the *Glory* of their *Legiſlators*, down to the later Periods when it became the *Employment* of their *Slaves*.

[*x*] ARISTOT. *Polit.* l. viii c. 5. [*y*] ARISTOT. *Poet.* c. 26. [*z*] *Polit.* l. viii. c. 7. [*a*] *De Muſica.*

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Of the Origin and Progreſſion of Comedy in ancient GREECE.

THERE is one conſiderable Branch of the MUSIC of ancient GREECE, I mean COMEDY, the Riſe and Progreſſion of which, together with their Cauſes, have been deſignedly paſſed in Silence: Becauſe, if this Diſquiſition had been mixed with what hath been delivered concerned the *Ode*, *Epic*, and *Tragedy*, the Chain of Argument would have been broken; and that Order and Clearneſs deſtroyed, which it was neceſſary to preſerve as much as poſſible in this involved Subject.

Let us now proceed, therefore, to reduce the Origin and Progreſs of the *Greek Comedy* to their natural and eſſential Cauſes.—To point out the Riſe of this Poem from ſavage Life; to unfold the true Reaſons why it was ſo late in taking its legitimate Form in GREECE; and then to explain, on what Foundation the *old*, *middle*, and *new* Comedy, appeared in their reſpective *Succeſſions*.

In the Deſcription of the ſavage Song Feaſts, given above from LAFITAU, it appears that theſe warlike Tribes "are ſtill quicker at rallying, than at praiſing, "each other. He who dances, takes whomſoever he "pleaſeth by the Hand; and brings him forth into the "midſt of the Aſſembly; to which he yields without "Reſiſtance. Mean while the Dancer continued to "*ſing*, and ſometimes in his Song, and ſometimes in "the Intervals, he throws his Sarcaſms on the Patient, "who hears him without Reply.—At every *bon Mot*, "loud Peals of Laughter ariſe along the Galleries, "who animate this Sport, and often oblige the Patient "to cover his Head in his Mantle [*b*]."

Now, if we again ſuppoſe, as we have already done, that the Uſe of *Letters* ſhould come among theſe ſavage

[*b*] See above, Sect ii.

Tribes,

Tribes, and be cultivated with that Spirit which is natural to a free and active People; from this Picture, as given by LAFITAU, the following Conſequences would naturally ariſe.

1. "Their caſual Strokes of Raillery would improve "into written Invectives, which would occaſionally be "ſung by their ſarcaſtic Choirs." Becauſe nothing could be more alluring to a People of this ſatyric Turn, than ſuch a Repoſitory of Wit and Raillery; which, like a Quiver ſtored with the keeneſt Arrows, would be ever at Hand, ready to be diſcharged againſt the occaſional Objects of their Reſentment.

2. "Narrative or Epic Poems of the *invective* or "comic Kind would likewiſe ariſe, and be occaſionally "ſung at their public Feſtivals." For the Spirit of Sarcaſm being once awakened, it would of courſe proceed from occaſional Strokes of Raillery, to the Recital of ridiculous Actions, for the Gratification and Entertainment of a lively and ſatyric People.

3. "From theſe two Species (the *choral* and *narra-* "*tive* united) the firſt rude Outline of *Comedy* would "ariſe." We have ſeen how *Tragedy* aroſe from parallel Cauſes: And Theſe would naturally take Place in producing *Comedy*. For the *Narrative*, already animated by Action, would eaſily ſlide into dramatic Repreſentation, as in the Riſe of *Tragedy*; and the correſpondent *Peals of Laughter* (by the Aſſiſtance of written Invectives) would aſſume the Form of a *comic Choir*.

4. "While the ſalutary Principles of Legiſlation "ſhould prevail, Comedy thus formed, would be little "encouraged by the Leaders of the State." For the grander Kinds of Poetry, already treated of, containing the Principles of Religion, Polity, and Morals, would draw their main Attention; while their Comedy, being no more than the Vehicle of Ridicule and vague Invective, would (at moſt) be only *endured* by prudent Legiſlators.

5. "A provident Community, of Principles un-"commonly ſevere, might even baniſh this Species of "Poem,

" Poem, as deſtructive to their State." Becauſe nothing could be more dangerous to a Commonwealth eſtabliſhed on Severity of Manners, than the unbounded Licentiouſneſs of Sentiment and Speech, which this Comedy muſt tend to produce.

6. " If in a State of more relaxed Principles, where " ſuch Comedy had been tolerated, a general Corrup- " tion of Manners ſhould take Place among the Peo- " ple; and if by any means, ſuch a corrupt People " ſhould overpower the Magiſtrates, and aſſume to " themſelves the Reins of Government; then, this " Species of Comedy would riſe into Credit, and be " publicly eſtabliſhed." For the *upright Leaders* of the State being *depoſed*, and the *Creatures* of ſuch a *corrupt People* being ſeated in their *Place*, *that Comedy* would now be *authorized* by Law, which was moſt accommodated to the *Taſte* and *Vices* of ſuch a *corrupt People*.

7. " The Ridicule and Invective of their Comedy, " thus eſtabliſhed, would be pointed chiefly againſt " thoſe Magiſtrates, or private Men, whoſe Qualities " would be hateful to the debauched Populace." For Corruption being now eſtabliſhed as it were by Law; that is, by the Voice of a degenerate People which ſtood in the Place of Law; the Poets would find it neceſſary to gratify the People's Vices as the ſureſt Road to Succeſs; and the moſt certain Road to this muſt be by the *Ridicule of Virtue*.

8. " If a *Tyranny* ſhould ſuddenly erect itſelf on the " Ruins of ſuch a People, it would by its Authority " *ſilence* this Species of *Comedy*."—For every thing hateful to the People being now the eſtabliſhed Subject of the comic Muſe, the Tyrants, who had taken away the public Liberty, muſt expect to become the Subject of Comedy, if permitted to revel in its former Licentiouſneſs.

9. " The Poets would probably find a Subterfuge, " for the Gratification of the People; and continue to " repreſent *real Characters* under *feigned Names*." For this would be the only Species of Comedy they could purſue with a Probability of Succeſs: And this might be

be continued without much Danger, if they were cautious with Reſpect to the Perſons of the Tyrants.

10. " If a great Conqueror ſhould ariſe, and, by " ſubduing a Variety of Nations, ſhould open a Com- " munication between ſuch a State and others of more " luxurious and refined Manners, this *ſecond* Species " of Comedy would naturally receive a *Poliſh*; and, " inſtead of the indirect perſonal Invective, would aſ- " ſume the more delicate Form of general Raillery, " and become a Picture of human Life."—For one of the firſt Efforts of a growing Politeneſs is to avoid all Occaſions of *Offence*; and this, without Reſpect to any Conſequences, either good or bad, which may affect the Public; but merely from a ſelfiſh Regard to the Opinion of *Elegance*, and the Pride of *Urbanity*.

In Support of theſe Deductions, let us now endeavour to *realize* them; by ſhewing, that ſuch Conſequences did ariſe in GREECE: And in the Courſe of this Argument the Writer hopes he ſhall be able to diſcloſe the true Cauſes of the Progreſſion of the ancient Comedy, ſo different from that of the higher Kinds of Poetic Compoſition.

1. " In the earlieſt Periods of the Greek States, " their Caſual Strokes of Raillery were improved into " written Invectives, and were occaſionally ſung by " their ſarcaſtic Choirs." Theſe written Invectives were in Fact ſo early, that all the Greek Writers with one Voice confeſs themſelves altogether ignorant of their Origin. Their firſt Appearance is aſcribed by different Authors to different Nations [*c*]; and no Wonder if Evidence be wanting in Support of each Pretence, when it is probable, that theſe ſarcaſtic Choirs aroſe in many of the *Greek* States nearly at the ſame Time; that is, in or about the firſt Periods of Civilization and Letters. For we have ſeen, that ſuch a Period would naturally produce them: " Becauſe nothing " could be more alluring to a People of the ſatyric " Turn, than ſuch a Repoſitory of Raillery and Sar- " caſm."

[*c*] See VOSSIUS *Inſt. Poët.* l. ii. c. 23.

However,

However, we muſt not omit to obſerve, that their Traditions are much more accommodated to Nature and Probability on this Subject, than on the Riſe of the tragic Choir, which they ſeem generally to have attributed to the ſingle Practice of the drunken Votaries of BACCHUS.

2. "Narrative or Epic Poems of the invective or "comic Kind aroſe, and were occaſionally ſung at "their public Feſtivals." For the truth of this Fact we have the Teſtimony of ARISTOTLE, who tells us, "that although we know not the names either of theſe "Poems or their Authors; yet there is Reaſon to be-"lieve that many had been written before HOMER; "and that his *Margites* brought this Species to its Per-"fection in the ſame Manner as the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey* "had compleated the Form of the Epic Poem [*d*]." That HOMER, as well as other Bards of the early Periods, ſung their comic Poems at the feſtal Solemnities, needs no farther Proof here.

3. "From theſe two Species (the *Choral* and *Narra-*"*tive* united) the firſt rude Outline of Comedy aroſe." The *Narrative*, already animated by a lively Action, did eaſily ſlide into *dramatic* Repreſentation; and the correſpondent Peals of *Laughter* excited among the ſurrounding Audience, by means of written Invectives, aſſumed the Form of the *comic Choir*. In this Point, we have again to contend with the general Body of Critics, from ARISTOTLE down to the preſent Times, who all concur in aſcribing the Riſe of the legitimate Form of Comedy to HOMER's *Margites*; in the ſame Manner as they have aſcribed the Riſe of *Tragedy* to the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*. But notwithſtanding this general Concurrence of Opinion, it ſeems evident that the Progreſſion of Comedy was founded in the ſame Cauſes with that of Tragedy: That they both naturally aroſe in the Courſe of Things, from an Union of the *Narration* and the *Choir*, without any Reſpect had to HOMER's Poems. The ſame Arguments that have proved the

[*d*] *Poët.* c. 4.

one,

one, will confirm the other. We ſee the natural Seeds of Comedy and ſcenic Repreſentation in ſavage Life, no leſs than thoſe of Tragedy [*e*]: Nay, even in the earlieſt Periods of GREECE itſelf, we ſhall find the firſt rude Form of Comedy, ariſing from an Union of *dramatic Repreſentation* and a *Choir*, long before HOMER exiſted. In the Account already cited from STRABO and others, of the *muſical Conteſt* eſtabliſhed at DELPHI, which in Time branched out into the *Pythian* Games, as we have found the firſt rude Form of *Tragedy*; ſo now we ſhall find likewiſe a faint Outline of the firſt rude Form of *Comedy*. For it appears, that APOLLO with his Choir, and his Worſhippers in after-times, not only repreſented his Victory, and ſung a Pæan in Conſequence of it (in which Union we ſee the firſt rude Form of Tragedy) but likewiſe, in the Way of Ridicule they repreſented the *Hiſſes* of the dying Serpent, and ſung an *Invective* or *Sarcaſm* on his Overthrow [*f*]. For ſo I underſtand the Word ἰαμβος and ἰαμβιζειν, uſed by theſe ancient Writers on this Occaſion; as implying only *Sarcaſtic Verſes*, and not *Iambics* in the ſtrict Senſe; which are generally believed to have been firſt formed by ARCHILOCHUS, many Ages after the Fact here alluded to. And hence the true Reaſon appears, why the *Greek* Comedy was written in *Verſe*; becauſe it was originally *ſung*.—Now, in this Union of *comic Repreſentation* and a *ſatyrical Choir*, we ſee the genuine, though imperfect and *rude Form* of the *old Greek Comedy*.

4. "While the ſalutary Principles of Legiſlation "prevailed, Comedy, thus formed, was little encou-"raged by the Leaders of the State." The Authority of ARISTOTLE is clear and deciſive on this Point. "Comedy remained obſcure and unknown, becauſe "little Regard was had to it from the Beginning; the "Magiſtrate being late in appointing it a Choir." He aſſigns no Reaſon for this Conduct of the Magiſtrate:

[*e*] See above, Sect. ii. [*f*] See the Authors cited above, Sect. v. Art. 16.

But

But a ſufficient Reaſon appears to be given above. " For the grander Kinds of Poetry containing the " Principles of Religion, Polity, and Morals, drew " their main Attention; while their Comedy, being " no more than the Vehicle of Ridicule and vague In- " vective, was only *endured* by prudent Legiſlators." The Truth of this Article will receive Confirmation from the two ſucceeding.

5. " There was a provident Community, of Prin- " ciples uncommonly ſevere, which even baniſhed " this Species of Poem, as deſtructive to their State." We have already ſeen the Providence and Caution of the *Spartans* in regulating their *Muſic* for the Security of their Republic [*g*]. We ſhall now ſee the admirable Conſiſtency of their Conduct, with reſpect to the very Beginnings of *Comedy*, when it firſt dawned among them in the Verſes of ARCHILOCHUS. " The *Spar-* " *tans* ordered the Writings of ARCHILOCHUS to be " baniſhed from their City, becauſe they thought the " Peruſal of them was dangerous to the Purity of " Manners. They did not chuſe that the Minds of " their Children ſhould be tainted with them, leſt they " ſhould more hurt their Morals, than ſharpen their " Wit [*b*]."

6. " In the Republic of ATHENS, which was of " more relaxed Principles, where this Comedy had " been tolerated, a general Corruption of Manners " took Place among the People: The corrupt People " overpowered the Magiſtrates; aſſumed to themſelves " the Reins of Government, and on this Foundation " the old Comedy aroſe into Credit, had a Choir ap-

[*g*] See above.

[*b*] VELL. *Paterc.* l. vi. c. 3 —In after Times, when the ſevere Manners and the Glory of this Republic ſunk together, we find its Conduct altogether correſpondent with theſe Principles. The *Mimes*, the moſt diſſolute Species of Comedy, were then admitted. See SUIDAS, ATHENÆUS, and other Authors of the later Periods.

" pointed

" pointed by the Magiſtrate, and was publicly eſta-
" bliſhed." This was the natural and neceſſary Conſequence of the Power of a corrupt People. For the upright Magiſtrates being depoſed, and the Creatures of this corrupt People ſeated in their Place, *that* Comedy was now authorized by Law, which was moſt accommodated to the Vices and Taſte of a diſſolute Populace.

Theſe Cauſes clearly account for the Eſtabliſhment of the old Comedy, at that very Period when it took Place. But as other Cauſes, void of all Foundation, have been aſſigned for this, by various Authors; it will be neceſſary to prove the Truth of the Cauſes here alledged, from the Authority of the Greek Writers.

PLATO, in the Paſſage cited above [*i*], gives us the Hiſtory of the Corruption of the People, and of Muſic; but in ſuch general Terms, that, without ſome farther Evidence, it is impoſſible clearly to fix the Time when, or the Means by which, this Change was brought about, ſo fatal to the Republic of *Athens*. It happens fortunately, that PLUTARCH hath recorded the Event with ſuch Particularity of Circumſtance, as leaves no Room to doubt on this Subject. PERICLES was the Man, who for his own private Ends of Popularity, effected this ruinous Change: For " By giving
" the People the Plunder and Poſſeſſion of the Lands
" taken from the Enemy, and by ſquandering the pub-
" lic Monies (formerly reſerved for the Uſes of War)
" in SHEWS and PLAYS for their *Entertainment*, and
" by Grants of Largeſſes and Penſions, he changed
" them from a ſober, modeſt, and thriſty People, who
" maintained themſelves by their own Labour, into a
" riotous and debauched Multitude; and thus rouſed
" them into Sedition againſt the Court of the *Areopa-*
" *gus* [*k*]. From this Paſſage it is evident, that PERICLES not only debauched the *Athenian* People; but that the Exhibition of Plays and Shews was one of the

[*i*] See Sect. v. Art. 34. [*k*] *In Pericle.*

very

very Engines of Corruption [*l*].—The concurrent Teſtimony of ZENOPHON clears the whole Affair; and gives us a full View of the Conſequences of this general Corruption, ſo far as the *old Comedy* is concerned. For in his Diſcourſe on the *Athenian* Republic, he informs us, 1*ſt*, That, at the Period we have now fixed, "The Body of the People expelled All Good Men "from the Magiſtracy, and advanced wicked Men in "their Places." 2*dly*, That "they took the *Gymnaſtic* "and *Muſical* Exerciſes out of the Hands of the better "Sort; and gave the Practice and Profit of them to "the Dregs of the People." 3*dly*, That "in their "Comedies they ſuffered none to be ridiculed, but "thoſe of higher Station and Worth; unleſs one of "their own Rank happened to diſtinguiſh himſelf by "ſomething praiſe worthy; and then He became the "Object of theatrical Deriſion [*m*]

Theſe Evidences are ſo clear and preciſe, as to leave no Foundation of a Doubt on this Subject.

Lord SHAFTESBURY hath greatly miſtaken this Matter in his *Advice to an Author* [*n*]; and is as careleſs or defective here in the Circumſtance of Erudition, as

[*l*] Thus CICERO ſpeaks of the old Greek Comedy. —"Eſto: populares Homines, improbos, in Rempub-"licam ſeditioſos, *Cleonem*, *Cleophontem*, *Hyperbolum* "læſit:—Patiamur:—Sed PERICLEM, cum jam ſuæ "Civitati maxima Auctoritate plurimos annos Domi "et Bello præfuiſſet, violari Verſibus, et eos agi in "Scena, non plus decuit, quam ſi *Plautus* noſter vo-"luiſſet, aut *Nævius*, *P.* et *Cn. Scipioni*, aut *Cæcilius* "*M. Catoni*, maledicere." Ex Frag. CIC. de Rep. l. iv.——Where, we may obſerve, the Judgment of CICERO is falſe concerning PERICLES: As it appears, that he was the firſt Corrupter of the People: And it ſeems to have been a juſt Puniſhment, that he was laſhed by that illiberal Comedy, which His own Influence firſt let in upon the State.

[*m*] XENOPHON *de Rep.* ATHEN.

[*n*] *Characteriſtics*, vol 1.

at other times in that of Reaſoning. He ſeems in one Paſſage to attribute the late Cultivation and Eſtabliſhment of the old Comedy to its being of more *difficult* Compoſition than Tragedy: "In this Part (Tragedy) "the Poets ſucceeded ſooner than in Comedy, or the "facetious Kind; as it was natural indeed to ſuppoſe, "ſince this was in reality the eaſieſt (eaſier) Manner "of the two." This is deciding a doubtful Point by a mere Affirmation: For the comparative Difficulty of theſe two Kinds hath been treated at large by a learned and moſt judicious Writer, who after a candid and profound Diſcuſſion of the Queſtion, thinks it beſt to leave it undecided [*o*]. The noble Writer, next, ſeems

[*o*] BRUMOY *Theatre des Grecs*, tom. vi.—This Queſtion hath indeed been ſaid, by a learned Writer, to admit of a *deciſive Anſwer*, on this Principle; that "Tra-"gedy, whoſe End is the *Pathos*, produces it by *Ac-"tion*, while Comedy produces its End, the *Humorous*, "by *Character*. Now it is much more difficult to *paint* "*Manners*, than to *plan Action*; becauſe That requires "the *Philoſopher's Knowledge* of *human Nature*; this, "only the *Hiſtorian's Knowledge* of *human Events*."—But in the Courſe of this Argument, it ſeems entirely forgot, that the tragic Poet's Province is not only to *plan*, but to *paint* too. Had he no farther Taſk, than what depends on the mere *Hiſtorian's Knowledge* of *human Events*, the Reaſoning would hold. But as it is the firſt and moſt eſſential Effort of his Genius, in the Conſtruction of a *compleat* Tragedy, to *invent* and *order* a *pathetic* Plan, *conſiſtent* in all it's Parts, and *riſing* towards it's *Completion* by a *Succeſſion* of Incidents which may *keep up* and continually *increaſe Terror* or *Pity*; it is manifeſt, that the *Perfection* of his *Plan* depends not on his mere *hiſtoric Knowledge* of *human Events*, but on his *philoſophic Diſcernment* of *human Paſſions*; aided by a *warm* and *enlarged Invention*. Talents as rare, at leaſt, as the *Knowledge* or *Diſcernment* of *human Characters*.—If to this we add the ſubſequent Taſk, of giving the *high*

ſeems to attribute the late Cultivation of Comedy to "the Spirit of literary Criticiſm, which in the Nature "of things could not ariſe, till it had Materials to "work on; and This he ſuppoſeth to have been the "*falſe Sublime* of their *Tragedies*, which were often "*parodied* in the *old Comedy*."—But neither can this Cauſe be ſufficient to account for the Effect; becauſe it appears that the beſt Men, as well as the beſt Tragedies, were parodied or ridiculed more commonly than the worſt. Of this, the Fate of SOCRATES may ſtand as a convincing Proof. This Fact could not entirely eſcape the Notice of the noble Writer; for he acknowledges, that "even this *Remedy* itſelf was found "to turn into a *Diſeaſe* [*p*]." But we have already proved, that it was a Diſeaſe even on its firſt Appearance. In a Word, the Authorities given above, in Support of the true Cauſes of the Cultivation and Eſtabliſhment of the old Greek Comedy at ATHENS, contain the cleareſt Proof that the noble Writer's Deductions on this Subject are *ſpecious*, but *not ſolid*; and that he diſcovers but little of what he ſeems to value ſo much, "a Comprehenſion of ancient Manners and "ancient Hiſtory."—But, what is odd enough, after having ſeparately aſſigned theſe fictitious Cauſes as being each the Foundation on which the old Comedy aroſe and was eſtabliſhed, He at length glances accidentally upon the true one: Yet manifeſtly without any particular Knowledge of the Facts which ſupport it. "According to this *Homerical* Lineage of Poetry, *Co*-"*medy* would naturally prove the *Drama* of *lateſt* "*Birth*. For though ARISTOTLE cites HOMER's "*Margites* as analogous to *Comedy*, yet the *Iliad* and "*Odyſſey*, in which the heroic Style prevails, having

high Colourings of *Paſſion* to the tragic *Plan* thus *ordered*, the *Difficulty* of writing a compleat *Tragedy* may ſeem to be in ſome Reſpects *equal*, in others *ſuperior* to that of producing a compleat *Comedy*: For in the *Conduct* of this laſt Species, it is acknowledged, that a *ſmall Degree* of *poetic Invention* will *ſupport* it.

[*p*] P. 248.

"been

" been ever *higheſt in Eſteem*, were likelieſt to be *firſt* " *wrought and cultivated* [*q*]." We may conclude, then, upon the Authority of the three great Ancients cited above, that " the Cultivation and *Eſtabliſhment* of " the old *Greek Comedy* aroſe from the united *Corrup-* " *tion* and *Power* of the *Athenian* People."

7. " The Ridicule and Invective of their Comedy, " Thus eſtabliſhed, was pointed chiefly againſt thoſe " Magiſtrates or private Men, whoſe Qualities were " hateful to the debauched Populace." For the Proof of this, the Reader is referred to the Paſſages already cited from PLATO, and ZENOPHON: And on this Solution, the Fate of SOCRATES is clearly accounted for. Nor could any thing be more natural, if the Cauſes here aſſigned for the Eſtabliſhment of the old Comedy be true. " For Corruption being now eſtabliſhed, as " it were, by Law: that is, by the Voice of a de- " generate People, which ſtood in the Place of Law; " the Poets found it neceſſary to gratify the People's " Vices, as the ſureſt Road to Succeſs; and the only " Road to this, was now by the *Ridicule* of *Virtue*."

8. " A Tyranny ſuddenly erected itſelf on the Ru- " ins of the corrupt *Athenian* People, and at once ſi- " lenced this Species of Comedy." This Event happened on the taking of ATHENS by LYSANDER; and thro' the Authority of the thirty Tyrants whom he eſtabliſhed there. Theſe *Oppreſſors* did That from *Fear*, which *upright* Magiſtrates would have done from *Virtue*. The plain Reaſon hath been aſſigned above: " Be- " cauſe every thing hateful to the People being now " the eſtabliſhed Subject of the comic Muſe, the Ty- " rants who had deſtroyed the public Liberty, muſt " expect to become the Subject of Comedy, if per- " mitted to revel in its former Licentiouſneſs." Here again the noble Author of the Characteriſtics ſeems to aſſign a fictitious Cauſe for this Event, drawn from his own Conjectures, inſtead of Hiſtory. " Nothing " could have been the Cauſe of this gradual Reform

[*q*] *Characteriſtics*, vol. i. p. 253. Notes.

" in

" in the Commonwealth of Wit, beſide the real Re-
" form of Taſte and Humour in the Commonwealth
" or Government itſelf."—For, ſaith he, " it *little*
" *concerned* the *Foreigners in Power* (the thirty Tyrants)
" after what Manner thoſe *Citizens* treated *one another*
" in their *Comedies*; or what ſort of Wit or Humour
" they made Choice of, for their ordinary Diverſions
" [*r*]." It can hardly be neceſſary to point out, in what Circumſtance this Reaſoning is defective. Had the private Citizens buffooned *each other only* in their *Comedies*, the *Thirty Tyrants* would indeed have had little to fear: But as it is evident, that the *public Magiſtrates*, and their *Conduct*, had been the ſtanding Objects of theatrical Ridicule, it certainly *much concerned* theſe *Foreigners in Power*, to prevent that ſarcaſtic Repreſentation of their oppreſſive Government, which they muſt neceſſarily expect from the keen Spirit of an exaſperated and licentious People. The noble Writer endeavours to confirm his Opinion by a parallel Inſtance drawn from the *Roman* Commonwealth; where a ſimilar Prohibition took Place with regard to the *Atellane* Fables, at a Time, when no Effects of foreign " Power, or of a " home Tyranny can be pretended [*s*]." But this Inſtance, joyned to the Evidences already given on the Subject, inſtead of confirming, overturns his Syſtem: It only proves what was alledged above, that the *Athenian Tyrants* did that from *Fear*, which the *Roman Magiſtrates* did from *Virtue*.

9. " The Poets found a Subterfuge, for the Gratifi-
" cation of the People; and continued to repreſent
" real Characters under feigned Names." Thus the *middle Comedy* was naturally eſtabliſhed. For this was the only Species which they could now purſue with any Probability of *Succeſs*: And this was continued without much *Danger*, as we find they were cautious with Reſpect to the Perſons of the Tyrants.—That ſuch was the true Origin of this Change in the Character of the Greek Comedy, appears farther from the two fol-

[*r*] *Characteriſtics*, vol. i. p. 250. 249. [*s*] P. 251.

lowing Conſiderations. Firſt, there is not the leaſt Reaſon to believe the Athenian People were at all changed from their coarſe Manners and profligate Character, at the Time when the old Comedy was ſilenced: And ſecondly, by the Accounts left concerning the Genius of the *middle Comedy*, it appears, that it was in all Reſpects as illiberal and buffooning, in its Beginnings, as the old Comedy had been; the ſingle Circumſtance of *nominal Deſignation* only accepted.

10. "A great *Conqueror* aroſe: And, by ſubduing a "Variety of Nations, opened a *Communication* between "the Commonwealth of ATHENS, and the *eaſtern* "Kingdoms which were of more *luxurious* and *refined* "Manners: On this Event, the *ſecond* or *middle* Spe- "cies of *Comedy* naturally received a *Poliſh*; and, lay- "ing aſide the indirect perſonal Invective, aſſumed the "more delicate Form of general Raillery; and be- "came a Picture of human Life." The learned Reader will eaſily ſee, that ALEXANDER *the Great* is the Conqueror here alluded to: in his Reign it was, and not till that late Period, that the *middle* Comedy was poliſhed into the *new*. This was the natural Effect of that Politeneſs, which was introduced at ATHENS by a frequent and familiar Commerce with the effeminate Nations of the Eaſt. Till then, although the *Athenians* juſtly boaſted a Superiority in the *Arts*, yet in their Converſe and Treatment of each other, the concurrent Authority of ancient Hiſtorians, as well as the more certain Teſtimony of their own remaining Comedies, aſſure us, that they were of an *illiberal* and *buffooning* Turn. But no ſooner were the *Aſiatic* Luxuries and Refinements brought to ATHENS, by the Conqueſts of ALEXANDER, than their coarſe Manners melted gradually into falſe Politeneſs and Effeminacy. Now, "one of the firſt Effects of a growing Politeneſs, "is to avoid all Occaſions of Offence; and this, "without Reſpect to any Conſequences, either good "or bad, which may affect the Public; but merely "from a ſelfiſh Regard to the Opinion of *Elegance*, and "the Pride of *Urbanity*."

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This Reaſoning coincides in all Reſpects with the laſt Progreſſion of Comedy at ATHENS: And thoſe Writers, as Lord SHAFTESBURY and the Author of the Life of HOMER, who have attempted to reſolve the Eſtabliſhment of the new Comedy into a *Reform* or *Improvement* of Manners, in a *virtuous* Senſe, have miſtaken *Shadows* for *Realities*, and confounded *Decency* with *Virtue*. For it is certain, that both private and public Virtue were at the loweſt Ebb, while Comedy was aſſuming its *new* and finiſhed Form. This we are aſſured of by the concurrent Teſtimony of PLUTARCH, JUSTIN, and other ancient Writers: Even ſo far were the *Athenians* from regarding the public Welfare or Defence of their Country, that it was made a capital Crime for any Man to propoſe the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Militia, or the Application of the public Funds to its Maintenance [*t*]. Their Vices therefore were not *leſſening*, but *refining*: And the Idea of *Decency* was ſliding in, to ſupplant the rougher Appearances of *Virtue*. We know a neighbour Nation, in which parallel Effects prevail: a Nation who are too generally "licentious in private Morals, though in public Con-"duct decent:" And it is remarkable, that from this Refinement in Vices, a Species of Manners and of Comedy *there* prevails, altogether ſimilar to thoſe of the later *Greeks*. For while their private Converſation abounds with *Irreligion*, *Immorality*, and *Obſcenity*, nothing is admitted on their Stage, but what is conſiſtent with *Piety*, *good Morals*, and *good Breeding*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the natural Union and Progreſſions of Melody and Song, in other European Countries.

THUS we have traced the Progreſſion of the ancient *Greek* MUSIC in all its Branches, through the various Stages of their Union and Power, down to

[*t*] LIBANIUS *Arg. ad* OLYNTH. I.

their final Separation and Corruption in the later Periods. As a Confirmation of the eſſential Principles offered in this Diſcourſe, let us now conſider this natural Union and Progreſſion, as it hath appeared in other Nations, where theſe Arts never arrived at ſo compleat a Form; where the Progreſſion ceaſed before any high Degree of Perfection came on, either through a Want of improving Literature, or by other Obſtructions from internal or external Cauſes.

The neareſt Approach we can make to the ſavage State, in any Inſtance drawn from the Records of Antiquity, ſeems to be found in the Hiſtory of the *Curetes*, or *Corybantes* of the Iſland of CRETE. STRABO and DIODORUS, who give us their Hiſtory, deſcribe them as barbarous Tribes of Men, living among Caves and Mountains, at once *Warriors*, *Prieſts*, *Poets*, and *Muſicians*; who celebrated their public Feſtivals with enthuſiaſtic and clamorous Muſic, Song, and Dance, accompanied with Drums, Cymbals, and other noiſy Inſtruments, almoſt in the very Manner of the ſavage Iroquois [*u*]. RHADAMANTHUS firſt, and then MINOS, civilized this barbarous Route; and regulated their Manners and their Muſic, on the Model of the ſevere *Egyptian* Legiſlation. After MINOS, THALES aroſe: In whom we find the united Characters of Legiſlator and Muſician: He compoſed Laws, for the *Cretan* State, and ſung them to his Lyre [*x*]. But Muſic being fixed to certain Forms by Law, we are not to wonder that its Progreſſion ſtopped, as at SPARTA; which Commonwealth was modelled on the rigorous Eſtabliſhment of CRETE.

With Reſpect to EGYPT, the Beginnings of that famous Kingdom are ſo loſt in its Antiquity, that we know nothing of the firſt Advances there made in *Muſic* from

[*u*] STRABO, l. x. DIODORUS, l. v.

[*x*] As THALES ſucceeded RHADAMANTHUS and MINOS, who had *both* copied the EGYPTIAN Forms of Legiſlation; his compoſing *Laws* in *Verſe* could only be the Effect of mere *Imitation*.

its

its original Savage State. We only read, that in ſome early Periods of Civilization its Forms were unalterably fixed by Law, and therefore all *Improvement* and *Corruption* alike *prevented*.

As to the more *northern* Nations of *Europe*, it is remarkable, that we know little of them from ancient Hiſtory till the ſecond Period of Muſic commenced, that is, till the *Legiſlature's* Character had been *ſeparated* from that of the *Muſician*. The cleareſt Inſtance of the Union of the *Legiſlator's* and *Bard's* Character is found in SNORRO STURLOSON, who about five Hundred and fifty Years ago, was at once the chief *Legiſlator* and moſt eminent *Bard* in the Iſle of ICELAND [z]. In the ſecond Period, we meet with the poetic and Muſical Character united in almoſt every northern Clime, under the revered Denomination of *Scaldi* or *Bards*. It hath been already obſerved, that ODIN the *Scythian* Legiſlator, boaſted that the *Runic* Songs had been given him by the Gods [*a*]. A Circumſtance which proves, that the Character of *Heroe* and *Muſician* had been united in the Chiefs of that fierce and ſavage People, in the Period which immediately preceded him. We learn from SHERINGHAM and BARTHOLINE, that after the firſt Separation had been made, the *Scaldi Muſicians*, or *Bards*, were a Race of Men highly honoured amongſt the *Scythian* or *Daniſh* Tribes: That their Songs were of the *legiſlative* Caſt; that they ſung the great Actions of their Anceſtors, were themſelves renowned Warriors, and kindled the Valour of their Armies by their Songs: That none were admitted of the Order, but thoſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Families [*b*]: That they were above the Meanneſs of Flattery; and were revered, even in the Courts of Kings [*c*].

[z] Preface to NICHOLSON'S *Iriſh Hiſt. Library*,
[*a*] See above, Sect. v. [*b*] SHERINGHAM *de Angl. Orig.* p. 173. [*c*] BARTHOLINUS *de Contemptu Mortis apud Danos*, l. i. c. 8. 10.

We meet with the *Gauliſh Bards* under the ſame Period of Separation: But their Spirit ſeems to have been controuled by a more *peaceable* Species of Legiſlation. For STRABO tells us, that "throughout the whole "District of GAUL, there are three Kinds of Men, "who are held in ſingular Honour: The *Bards*, the "*Vates*, and the *Druids*: The *Bards* are *Poets*, and *ſing* "their Hymns: The *Vates* perform *Sacrifice*, and *con-*"*template* the Nature of Things: The *Druids*, beſides "this, hold Diſcourſes on *Morals*. They are eſteem-"ed the juſteſt of Men; and therefore are intruſted "with the Determination of all Differences, public "and private; and ſometimes peaceably end a Quar-"rel, when Armies are drawn out, and ready to de-"cide it by the Sword [*d*]." The Evidence of DIODORUS is ſtill more particular; and proves, that they were not inſenſible to the original Sallies of comic and ſarcaſtic Wit. "They ſing (ſaith He) to Inſtruments "reſembling our Lyres; *praiſing* ſome, and *ſatyrizing* "others. When Armies are ready to engage, if they "but come between, they immediately put an End to "the Battle; as if their Warriors were ſo many wild "Beaſts, which they had charmed by the Power of "their Songs [*e*]."

The *Britiſh Bards*, about the ſame Time, were preciſely of the ſame Character; as we learn from their contemporary *Roman* Authors [*f*]. In a ſucceeding Period, when the Diſtractions of our Country, had driven the native *Britons* into WALES, an *Engliſh* King ſtill

[*d*] L. iv. [*e*] DIOD. l. v.

[*f*] A ſingular Circumſtance relative to the *Britiſh Bards* deſerves Notice. It is ſaid, that "although "they were *inferior* to the *Druids* in *Rank*, yet they "were *prior* in *Antiquity*." [SAMMES's *Phœnic. Ant. of Brit.*] A Circumſtance which, though improbable in it's firſt Appearance, is clearly accounted for, on the Principals of this Diſſertation; as it only implies that *Melody* and *Song* were *prior* to *religious Rites*. [See Sect. v. Art. 7.]

felt

felt their Power, amidſt the Mountains and Poverty of that barren Region. He was ſo highly exaſperated by the Influence of their Songs, which breathed the Spirit of Liberty and War, and retarded his Conqueſt over a hardy People, that he baſely ordered them to be ſlain: An Event, which hath lately given Birth to an elegant and ſublime Strain of Poetry [*g*].

Of the Genius of thoſe *Britiſh Bards* who inhabited the northern Diſtricts of the Iſland, we have a noble Proof in the Poems lately publiſhed under the Name of OSSIAN. Theſe appear to have been compoſed and ſung, during the ſecond Period of Muſic; that is, when the Bard's Profeſſion had ſeparated from that of the Legiſlator, yet ſtill retained its Power and Dignity in full Union. For OSSIAN, the declared Author of the Poems, was the Son of the royal FINGAL, accompanied him in his Wars, and ſung his Atchievements to the Harp. Theſe Poems give a noble Confirmation to many of the Principles advanced in this Analyſis. They are of various Forms; though none of them properly unmixed. The *Song*, in the Days of this ſublime and original Bard, appears evidently to have worn the *inartificial* and *mixed* Forms of Compoſition, which we have found generally and of Courſe to prevail in the early Periods. Thus, FINGAL is chiefly *Epic*; yet the *hymnal* Species abounds in it: Others are *dramatic*; yet in theſe, the *narrative* often takes Place: Others, again, are in the Form of *Odes*; yet even theſe are ſtrongly mixed and marked with the *Epic* and *dramatic* Manner [*b*].

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[*g*] An Ode, by Mr. GRAY.

[*b*] As theſe Circumſtances are internal Proofs of the *Antiquity* of the Poems; ſo there are other collateral Evidences of the ſame Nature, which ſeem clearly to confirm it. Such are the grand Simplicity of Imagery and Diction, the ſtrong Draughts of rude Manners and uncultivated Scenes of Nature, which abound in all theſe Poems; Pictures, which no civilized Modern could

The natural Flame of ſavage Muſic and Poetry is now almoſt entirely quenched in the ſeveral Parts of this Iſland: In *England*, it loſt its Power by the Migration of the native *Britons* into WALES: In Wales, it was quenched by the Cruelty of EDWARD: In the Highlands of SCOTLAND, the Writer is well informed, that the Bard's Profeſſion was upheld in ſome Degree of Honour, till near the Beginning of this Century. About which Time, the Communication of the Inhabitants with the more civilized Parts of the Kingdom by Degrees aſſimilated their Manners to thoſe of their Neighbours; by which means the Profeſſion became extinct [*i*].

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could ever imbibe in their Strength, nor conſequently could ever throw out. Such, again, are the frequent Alluſions (wrought into the very Eſſence of the Poems) to the Principles of the old *Celtic* Religion, which in ancient Times had overſpread theſe Kingdoms: Of this Nature is That which the Tranſlator calls the *moſt extravagant Fiction* in all OSSIAN's Poems; I mean, the Battle between FINGAL, and the Ghoſt or Spirit of LODA*: Now this, though it carries the Appearance of Extravagance and ill-judged Improbability, yet, upon a nearer View, will be found to contain an internal Evidence of the *Antiquity* of the Poem; as it is drawn from the very Eſſence of the old *Celtic* Belief. Thus ſpeaks the learned BARTHOLINE:—"Summa "Audacia credebatur Lucta cum Spectris non formi-"data †." "It was eſteemed the higheſt Act of Cou-"rage, to dare to encounter a Ghoſt."—But it muſt be obſerved, that the Spirit of their chief God ODIN was an Exception to this Rule: The Living and the Dead were all deemed ſubject to his Controul: therefore, the Spirit of LODA was not the Spirit of ODIN, but of ſome inferior Deity.

* *Carric-Thura*: A Poem.

† *De Contemptu Mortis apud Danos*, l. ii. c. 2.

[*i*] About the Cloſe of the laſt Century, JOHN GLASS and JOHN MACDONALD, *Bards* by Profeſſion, who

The Hiſtory of the *Iriſh Bards* is perhaps of all others the moſt extraordinary; and will therefore deſerve a particular Regard. Hiſtory doth not carry us up to the firſt Period, in which the *Legiſlator's* and *Bard's* Character are united in the ſame Perſon. But of the ſecond Period we have large Accounts in the *Iriſh* Hiſtorians. For we are informed, there were three principal Tribes among the ancient *Iriſh*. "The Firſt "were *Leaders, Chiefs*, or *Legiſlators:* The Second "were *Druids* or *Prieſts:* The Third were *Bards.*" The two laſt were honoured with an Appellation equivalent to the Name of *Gods* [*k*].

The *Bards* had eſtates ſettled on them, that they might be free from worldly Cares: They lived in perfect Independence, and were obliged to no Service: Their Perſons were inviolable: To kill them, was eſteemed the blackeſt Crime; and it was held an Act of Sacrilege to ſeize their Eſtates, even for the public Service, and in Times of the greateſt Diſtreſs [*l*].

The Profeſſion was hereditary: But when the *Bard* died, his Eſtate deſcended not to his eldeſt Son, but to the moſt accompliſhed of his Family in the muſical Profeſſion. A Law was made by OLLAMH FODHLA, one of their greateſt Kings, that none ſhould be inveſted with the Dignity of a *Bard*, but thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious Families [*m*].

The *Bards*, the *Druids*, and *Nobility*, were ſummoned by the ſame King, to a *triennial Feſtival*, which was thus by him eſtabliſhed, to tranſmit to Poſterity the *Authentic Songs* of the *Bards*, as the Materials of their future Hiſtories. In Conſequence of this, the approved Songs of the ancient Bards were preſerved in the Cuſtody of the King's Antiquary; and are appealed to

who reſided and were reſpected as ſuch in the Houſes of two *Highland Chiefs*, traveled fifty Miles and met by Appointment in LOCHABAR, to vindicate their own Honour and that of their reſpective Chiefs at a public Meeting, in a *poetic* and *muſical Conteſt*.

[*k*] KEATING'S *Hiſt.* of IRELAND, p. 48. [*l*] Ib. p. 132, &c. [*m*] Ibid.

by KEATING, as the Foundation of his Hiſtory [*k*]. Many of them were fabulous; but this Circumſtance hath no eſſential Relation to our preſent Inquiry.

Garments of different Colour were appropriated to the various Ranks of the Kingdom: So high was the Power and Dignity of the *Bards*, that they wore the *ſame Colour* with the *royal Family* [*l*].

Thus inveſted with Honours, Wealth, and Power; and poſſeſſed of an Art which gave them a natural Influence over the Minds of the People; we find, that about the year 558, they had become inſolent, deeply corrupted, and dangerous. Hence, the reigning King convened a general Council of the Nobility and Gentry (for Chriſtianity being now planted in IRELAND, the *Druids* were no more) with Intention to expel them the Iſland. They were now become a Kind of *ſacred Order*, or *College*; which was grown ſo numerous, that one third of the Kingdom is ſaid to have ranked themſelves in this Claſs, as a ſafe Aſylum for Idleneſs and Hypocriſy. When the *Principal Bards* aſſembled in a Body to divert this impending Storm, they met, to the Number of a *Thouſand*. This may account for the Numbers that claimed to be of the Profeſſion; for every *Principal Bard* retained *thirty* of inferior Note, as his Attendants; and a *Bard* of the *ſecond* Order was followed by a Retinue of *fifteen*. In this Convention, after many Debates, it was reſolved that they ſhould leave the Iſland, and retire into SCOTLAND, before the Sentence of their Baniſhment was pronounced.—However, the Sentence was mitigated: They were allowed to diſperſe themſelves over the Iſland, and promiſe to live in a Manner leſs offenſive to the Public [*m*].

In a ſucceeding, and no very diſtant Period, we find them again grown troubleſome to the Kings, who complained of them, as a Burthen to the People, lazy, covetous, and inſatiable. On this, their Number was leſſened and regulated: By the Advice of St. COLUM

[*k*] Ib. p. 132. & Preface p. 23. [*l*] KEATING's *Hiſt.* of IRELAND, p. 127. [*m*] Ib. 370, &c.

CILL

CILL, every provincial *Chief* had *one* learned *Bard* allowed him in his Retinue, to *record* the *Atchievements* of his Family: Their Independance, with a competent Revenue, was preſerved: And this Regulation was the Standard, by which the Society of Bards were directed in ſucceeding Ages [*n*].

'Tis to be obſerved, that in ſome unrecorded Period, a *Separation* had taken Place in the *Bard's* Profeſſion: In the early Times, the Offices of *Poet* and *Lyriſt* were united in the ſame Perſon: In the later Ages, it appears, that the *Bard* only compoſed the *Poem*; and that it was *ſung* by a *Rhapſodiſt* or *Harper* at the public Feſtivals.

However, we find that on the Extinction of Learning, and Increaſe of Barbariſm in this Kingdom, the native Vigour of the poetic Stock again ſhot up in a ſucceeding Age; and for Want of a proper Culture, was again become one of the ruling Evils of the Country, in the Time of SPENCER; Who gives the following animated Deſcription of their *Songs* and *Character*: "There is amongſt the *Iriſh* a certain Kind of People "called *Bardes*, which are to them inſtead of *Poets*, "whoſe Profeſſion is to ſet forth the *Praiſes* or *Diſ-* "*praiſes* of Men in their Poems or Rythmes; the "which are had in ſo high Regard and Eſtimation "amongſt them, that none dare diſpleaſe them for "Fear to run into Reproach through their Offence, "and to be made infamous in the Mouths of all Men. "For their Verſes are taken up with a general Ap- "plauſe, and uſually *ſung* at all *Feaſts* and *Meetings* by "certain *other Perſons*, whoſe proper Function that is, "who alſo receive for the ſame great Rewards and "Reputation amongſt them."——Theſe *Iriſh Bardes* "are for the moſt Part ſo far from inſtructing young "Men in *moral* Diſcipline, that they themſelves do "more deſerve to be ſharply diſciplined: For they "ſeldom uſe to chooſe unto themſelves the Doings of "*good* Men for the Arguments of their Poems; but "whomſoever they find to be moſt *licentious* of Life,

[*n*] KEATING'S *Hiſt.* of IRELAND, p. 380, 381.

"moſt

" moſt *bold* and *lawleſs* in his Doings, moſt *dangerous*
" and *deſperate* in all Parts of Diſobedience and rebel-
" lious Diſpoſition ; Him they *ſet up* and *glorify* in their
" *Rythmes*, Him they *praiſe* to the *People*, and to *young*
" Men make an *Example* to follow."—Thus " evil
" things being decked and attired with the gay Attire
" of goodly Words, may eaſily deceive and carry away
" the affection of a young Mind that is not well ſtay-
" ed, but deſirous by ſome bold Adventures to make
" Proof of himſelf. For being (as they all be) brought
" up idly without Awe of Parents, without Precepts
" of Maſters, and without Fear of Offence ; not be-
" ing directed, nor employed in any Courſe of Life
" which may carry them to Virtue ; will eaſily be
" drawn to follow ſuch as any ſhall ſet before them :
" For a young Mind cannot reſt : If he be not ſtill bu-
" ſied in ſome Goodneſs, he will find himſelf ſuch Bu-
" ſineſs, as ſhall ſoon buſy all about him. In which,
" if he ſhall find any to praiſe him, and to give him
" Encouragement, as thoſe *Bardes* and *Rythmers* do
" for little Reward, or a Share of a *ſtoln Cow*, then
" waxeth he moſt inſolent and half mad with the Love of
" himſelf, and his own lewd Deeds. And as for
" Words to ſet off ſuch Lewdneſs, it is not hard for
" them to give a goodly and painted ſhew thereunto,
" borrowed even from the Praiſes which are proper to
" Virtue itſelf : As of a moſt notorious *Thief* and
" wicked *Outlaw*, which had lived all his Life Time
" of *Spoils* and *Robberies*, one of their *Bardes* in his
" Praiſe will ſay, that he was none of the idle *Milk-*
" *Sops* that was brought up by the *Fire-ſide* ; but that
" moſt of his Days he ſpent in *Arms* and valiant *Enter-*
" *priſes:* That he did never eat his Meat, before he
" had won it with his Sword : That he lay not all
" Night ſlugging in a Cabin under his Mantle ; but
" uſed commonly to keep others waking to defend their
" Lives ; and did light his Candle at the Flames of
" their Houſes, to lead him in the Darkneſs : That
" the Day was his Night, and the Night his Day :
" That he loved not to be long wooing of Wenches to
" yield to him ; but where he came, he took by Force

" the

" the Spoil of other Men's Love, and left but Lamen-
" tation to their Lovers: That his Muſic was not the
" Harp, nor Lays of Love, but the Cries of People,
" and the claſhing of Armour: And finally, that he
" died, not bewailed of many, but made many wail
" when he died, that dearly bought his Death."——
" I have cauſed divers of theſe Poems to be tranſlated
" unto me, that I might underſtand them: And ſure-
" ly, they ſavoured of *ſweet Wit* and *good Invention*;
" but *ſkilled not* of the *goodly Ornaments* of Poetry:
" Yet were they ſprinkled with ſome *pretty Flowers* of
" their *natural Device*, which gave good Grace and
" Comelineſs unto them: The which it is *great Pity*
" to ſee ſo *abuſed*, to the *gracing* of *Wickedneſs* and *Vice*,
" which with *good Uſage* would ſerve to *adorn* and
" *beautify Virtue* [o].

This Account of the *Iriſh Bards* is not inſerted here, as a mere Hiſtory of Facts; but with a farther View of confirming the Principles on which this Diſſertation is built. And the Writer thinks that all the Facts (from the *early State* of the *Bards* when they were eſteemed as *Gods*, down to their *laſt Condition* when they were ſunk into the *Abetters* of *Thieving* and *Robbery*) ariſe ſo naturally from the Principles given above, that he is diſpoſed to leave the particular Application to the Reader's Sagacity.

SECT. IX.

Of the natural Union and Progreſſion of Melody and Song in CHINA, PERU, and INDIA.

SUCH have been the natural *Union* and *Progreſſions* of *Melody* and *Song*, in the barbarous Nations of EUROPE. If we travel to the Extremes of Eaſt and Weſt, on the vaſt Continents of ASIA and AMERICA, we ſhall find new and ſtrong Confirmations of the *Pro-*

[o] SPENSER's View of the State of IRELAND.

greſſions

greſſions of theſe Arts, as they have been here deduced from ſavage Life and Manners.

The *Chineſe* have ever been of a *mild* and *peaceable* Character: Their *Muſic* will be found analogous. 'Tis generally ſuppoſed, that CONFUCIUS eſtabliſhed their *Muſic* and *Rites*: but it appears from ſome curious Fragments of ancient *Chineſe* Hiſtory, that *Muſic* and the *Rites* exiſted in *Union*, long before the Age of that Philoſopher [*p*]. TCHOYONG, the ſixteenth Emperor "of the ninth Period, hearing a Concert of Birds, in-"vented a Species of Muſic, whoſe Harmony was ir-"reſiſtible. It touched the intelligent Soul, and cal-"med the Heart of Man; ſo that the external Senſes "were found, the Humours in a juſt Poiſe, and the "Life of Man lengthened [*q*]." Here we find the genuine Picture of a *Chief*, at once *Legiſlator* and *Bard*, civilizing a ſavage People.

The *Dance* was improved in the ſame Manner, by the twentieth King of the ninth Period, to the Ends of peaceful Life [*r*]. And of ſuch Importance has this Branch of the muſical Art been always held in CHINA, that it is an eſtabliſhed Maxim, "that you may judge "of any King's Reign, by the *Dances* that are then in "Uſe [*s*]."

Theſe Evidences are traditionary, and relate to the fabulous Times: But even in a later Period, we find the *kingly* and *muſical* Characters *united*, in the Perſon of FOU-HI, their firſt great imperial Legiſlator. "FOU-HI delivered the Laws of Muſic: After he "had invented the Art of *Fiſhing*, he compoſed a *Song* "for thoſe who exerciſed that Art. He made a *Lyre*, "with Strings of *Silk*, to baniſh all *Impurity* of Heart: "And in his Time the *Rites* and *Muſic* were in great "*Perfection* [*t*]." All this is evidently in the true Spirit of a peaceable Legiſlation. "CHIN-NONG (a ſuc-

[*p*] *Extraits des Hiſt. Chinois*, publiſhed by Mr. GOGUET, p. 550.

[*q*] Ib. 552. [*r*] Ib. p. 555. [*s*] Ib. p. 556.

[*t*] Ib. p. 567.

"ceeding

" ceeding Emperor) compoſed Songs on the *Fertility* " of the Earth. He made a beautiful *Lyre*, and a " *Guitar* adorned with precious Stones, which produ- " ced a noble Harmony, curbed the Paſſions, and " elevated Man to *Virtue* and heavenly *Truth* [*u*]." This is the ſame Character continued under a Period of higher Civilization. The laſt Emperor whom I find to have retained the poetic or Muſical Character, was CHAO-HAO; who is ſaid to have invented " a new " Species of Muſic, to unite Men with ſuperior Be- " ings." After him, the *complex* Office ſeems to have *ſeparated*: And the firſt great *Bardlike* Character we meet with is CONFUCIUS, who eſtabliſhed *Muſic* and the *Rites*, according to that Form which they ſtill maintain in CHINA [*w*]. For here, as in ancient EGYPT, CRETE, and SPARTA, every thing is unalterably fixed by Law; by which Means, Improvement and Corruption are alike prevented.

With Reſpect to the Extent of the *Progreſſion* of Muſic in this vaſt Empire; it appears, that they have no muſical Notation; that Compoſition in *Parts* is altogether unknown; and that the whole *Choir* ſings the *ſame* Melody: That their Muſic is altogether of the *diatonic Kind*, and even wretched to an *European* Ear [*x*]: Yet they boaſt of its wonderful Powers in former Times: Whence ſome of the Hiſtorians ſeem to gueſs that it hath degenerated; while in reality, no other Conſequence can be juſtly drawn, but that either the People are leſs *ignorant* and *barbarous*; or that Muſic is now leſs aſſiduouſly and powerfully *applied*; or that certain *Separations* have enſued, ſimilar to thoſe which took Place in ancient GREECE: Any of which Cauſes muſt naturally deſtroy its Force.

It appears, however, that the Progreſſion had advanced ſo far in ſome former Period, prior to CONFUCIUS, as to produce *dramatic Repreſentation*, mixed

[*u*] *Extraits des Hiſt. Chinois*, publiſhed by Mr. GOGUET, p. 572. [*w*] DU HALDE *Hiſt. Chinois*.
[*x*] See Specimens of it, in DU HALDE.

with

with *Song*: And in Conformity to the Principles given above, we find, that as they regard not the *Unities* of Action, Place, or Time, ſo neither is any *continued Choir* in uſe; though there be manifeſt Remains of it in their *Plays*: For at the Concluſion of Scenes or Acts, as well as at other Times when a *pathetic* Circumſtance occurs, the Perſons of the Play, inſtead of *declaiming*, begin to *ſing*. The *Prologue* reſembles that uncouth one of GREECE, that is, he tells you *who* he is, and *what* is his *Errand*. All their Plays have a *moral* or *political* Direction, ſuited to the Genius of the People and the State. They know not the Difference between *Tragedy* and *Comedy*; another Circumſtance which confirms the Principle given above, concerning the true Riſe and Diſtinction of theſe two Kinds in GREECE: For the *Chineſe*, as they have ever been of a *timid* and *peaceable* Character, ſo neither are they given to *Raillery* or *Sarcaſm*, but altogether to *Civility* and mutual *Reſpect*. Hence, neither the *Tragic* nor *comic* Drama could probably ariſe, ſo as to be marked as a *diſtinct Species*. Accordingly, their *Plays* are generally of an *intermediate* Caſt, between *Terror* and *Pity* on the one Hand, *Sarcaſm* or *Ridicule* on the other. The "*little Orphan* of CHINA," indeed, which is given as a Specimen by DU HALDE, borders on the *tragic* Species: But this Play is but one of a hundred, moſt of which are of a different Caſt; and was ſelected by him, becauſe he thought it the beſt adapted in its Genius, to the Spirit and Taſte of the *Europeans*: For he tells us expreſly, that the general Character of their Plays are altogether different from this; that they are commonly of a *middle* Kind, and neither *Tragedy* nor *Comedy*. Another Circumſtance of the Progreſſion muſt be marked; which is, that their *Actors* are a *ſeparate* Rank from their *Poets*; that they are formed into *Companies*, and have loſt their original Dignity of Office and Character.

In the ancient Kingdom of PERU, the Progreſſion of *Muſic* had reached the ſame Period, though ſomewhat different in its Circumſtances. GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA

VEGA informs us, that their fabulous Songs were innumerable; that he had heard many, and learnt ſome of them, from his Anceſtors, who were the laſt of the royal Family of the INCAS. They were of various Kinds, founded on a Variety of Paſſion, religious, warlike, and amorous. They had invented a Kind of *unequal Pipe*, formed of Reeds of different Lengths, preciſely the ſame with that of ancient GREECE. They had alſo a Species of Flute, with four or five Stops: Their Muſic was ſimple, like that of all unpoliſhed Countries. Their INCAS or *Chiefs* had been *Poets* or *Muſicians* in the early Periods; and the Author of the Commentaries gives a Poem compoſed by one of them, which bears all the Marks of a ſpirited and ſavage Original. They had their *dramatic* Repreſentations, in Part *reſembling*, and in Part *differing* from thoſe of the *Chineſe*. Their Manners and Character, *brave* though not *ferocious*, had naturally produced *Tragedy*, though of a Kind rather *grand* than *terrible* [*x*]. But their *mild Temper*, in Time of *Peace* little given to *Sarcaſm*, ſeems to have *prevented* the Birth of *Comedy*. GARCILASSO, indeed, divides their *Drama* into *Tragedy* and *Comedy*: But this was manifeſtly the Effect of his own preconceived Opinions, and aroſe from a Habit of conſidering all *dramatic* Compoſition as belonging to one of theſe *Species*. For he tells us that "their *Tragedies* "repreſented their military Exploits; the *Triumphs*, "*Victories*, and *heroic Actions* of their renowned Men: "And the Subject or Deſign of their Comedies was "to demonſtrate the Manner of good *Huſbandry* in "*cultivating* and manuring their *Fields*, and to ſhew "the Management of domeſtic Affairs, with other fa-"miliar Matters." A Circumſtance, which ought to give them the Title of *Bucolic* or *Georgic Drama*, rather than that of *Comedy*. For not a Word occurs concerning *Ridicule* or *Character*; the *Union* of which two Circumſtances may ſeem to conſtitute the *Eſſence* of *true Comedy*. Theſe Plays were *compoſed* by the *Amautas* or

[*x*] See above, Sect. vi. Art. 24.

Bards,

Bards, whoſe Office was ſeparated from that of the INCAS, but ſtill held in Honour, as in other barbarous Polities. But in another Reſpect, the Progreſſion was different from that in CHINA. The *Actors* maintained the original Dignity which they had held in the early Periods: For the *Lords* and *Officers* of the Court were the *Actors*; and as ſoon as the Play was ended, they took their *Places* according to their *Degrees* [*y*].

To theſe we may add one Inſtance more, concerning the natural Union and Progreſſion of Muſic and Poetry: An Inſtance leſs known, yet more ſingular than any of theſe already given. When the *Chriſtian Miſſionaries* arrived on the Coaſt of *proper India*, they found a Sect called the "*Chriſtians of St.* THOMAS," living in great Simplicity and Innocence; and retaining many of the original Cuſtoms of their ſavage Forefathers [*z*]: among others, they found theſe Chriſtians, as well as the Pagans of the Country, poſſeſſed of rude *Muſic* and *Poetry*, in their *natural Union* and *Power*. They acquieſced in the Application of theſe Arts, already made by the Chriſtian Tribe, and wiſely laid hold of their Influence, for the Converſion of the Pagan Natives. Under theſe Circumſtances, the following Accounts will appear natural and probable, on the Principles already delivered.

Firſt, it appears that the general and Fundamental Practice of *ſinging* the *Praiſe* of *great Men*, had been maintained from the moſt ancient Times. In Conſequence of this, "The Synode being ended, the Parti-"ſans of the Union compoſed in the *Malabar* Tongue "a long *Ode* or *Song*, which contained the whole *Hiſ-*"*tory* of the *Portugueſe Prelate*, and a pompous Detail "of what had paſſed at the Synod. This Nation hath "preſerved the ancient Cuſtom of conſecrating to Po-"ſterity by this Kind of Poem all the moſt remarka-"ble Events. The Song was caught and immediately

[*y*] GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA *Comment. Real.* l. ii. c. 14, 15. [*z*] LA CROZE *Hiſt. du Chriſt.* p. 38, &c.

"diſperſed

" diſperſed every where; and during the Viſits which " the Prelate made, the People ſung it in his Pre- " ſence; which together with their *Dances* and *Muſic* " made the chief Part of his Entertainment [*a*]. " When he went to ANGAMALE, the Way was ſpread " with Carpets: And it was a fine Sight, to ſee a " *Child* of ſix Years old, very beautiful, and richly " dreſſed, who *ſung* melodiouſly the whole *Song* we " have ſpoken of, as containing the *Labours* of the *Pre-* " *late* [*b*]."

The religious *Song* and *Dance* were no leſs remarkably and ſingularly maintained in a Kind of imperfect *Union*, as they had been transferred from *Pagan* Objects to thoſe of *Chriſtianity*. " In the ſame Place, the " *Chriſtian Malabars*, to amuſe the Archbiſhop, gave " him a *Ball* after the Manner of the Country. It " was of ſo ſingular a Nature, that I am perſuaded, " the Reader will not be diſpleaſed with the Deſcrip- " tion. Theſe *Dances* are generally practiſed at Night. " This begun at Eight in the Evening, and laſted till " an Hour after Midnight. None but the Men dance; " and their Modeſty and Reſerve are admirable. Be- " fore the *Dance* begins they all make the *Sign* of the " *Croſs*, and *ſing* the *Lord's Prayer*, which is followed " by a *Hymn* in Honour of *St. Thomas*. Their other " *Songs* rowl chiefly on the *illuſtrious Actions* of their " *Forefathers*, or the *Virtues* of their *Saints*. In a Word, " this Entertainment has all the Air of *an Act of De-* " *votion*; on which, the *Portugueſe Hiſtorian* takes Oc- " caſion to inveigh againſt the *prophane Songs* of the " *Europeans*, which ſeem compoſed only to inſpire " *Debauch* and *Immodeſty* [*c*]."

The Miſſionaries who have viſited the oppoſite Coaſt of COROMANDEL, give us Proof, that the *Progreſſion* of *Muſic* and *Poetry* had not ſtopped at this early Period, but advanced to *theatrical Repreſentation*; which, we ſhall ſee, they were bold enough to apply even to the

[*a*] LA CROZE *Hiſt. du Chriſt.* p. 282. [*b*] Ib. p. 294. [*c*] Ib. p. 296.

great

great Purpoſe of *Converſion*. " In this Country they " have an extreme Paſſion for the *Theatre*. Good " Poets are held in great *Veneration* among this People, " who are by no means of a barbarous Caſt. In " INDIA, Poetry enjoys the Favour of the Great. " They give its young Profeſſors the Honour of the " *Palanquin*, which is a very high Diſtinction. The " *Theatre*, which was prepared near our Church, was " of vaſt Extent. Indeed I found not there the Rules " of HORACE or BOILEAU put in Practice; but was " agreeably ſurprized to find the *Acts* diſtinguiſhed, " and varied with *Interludes* or *Choirs*, the Scenes well " connected, the Machines judiciouſly invented, Art " in the Conduct of the Piece, Taſte in the Dreſſes, " Propriety in the *Dances*, and a kind of *Muſic*, harmo- " nious though *irregular* and *wild*. The *Actors* diſ- " played great *Freedom* and *Dignity* in their Speech: " They were taken from one of the *Superior Orders* or " *Caſtes*. Their Memory was good, and there were " *no Prompters*. That which edified me moſt was, " that the Piece began with an authentic Profeſſion of " Chriſtianity: And contained the keeneſt *Ridicule* " and ſevereſt *Invectives* on the *Gods* of the Country. " Such are the *Chriſtian Tragedies*, which they oppoſe " here to the *prophane Tragedies* of the *Idolaters* [*d*]; " and they are, for this Reaſon, an excellent Mean of " Converſion [*e*] —The Audience was compoſed of at " leaſt twenty thouſand Souls, who liſtened in pro- " found Silence.—The Character of their Theatre is " that of a *lively* and *perpetual Action*; and a ſtrict " Caution of *avoiding long Speeches*, without proper " *Breaks* [*f*]."

[*d*] Hence it appears that the *Hiſtory* of their *Gods* made the Subject of their *native* theatrical Repreſentations

[*e*] How far this was a proper Method of Converſion, will be conſidered in the Work advertiſed at the End of this Diſſertation.

[*f*] *Letters Edifiantes, Recueil*, xviii. p. 28.

Such

Such is the State of *Melody* and *Song* in proper INDIA. Some of its Appearances are ſingular; and at firſt View, may ſeem unnatural. But after a mature Conſideration of what hath been delivered on the Union, Progreſſion, and Separation of theſe Arts in ancient GREECE, 'tis preſumed, the ſenſible Reader will eaſily account for all theſe apparent Singularities.

SECT. X.

Of the natural Union and Progreſſions of Melody and Song amongſt the ancient Hebrews.

LET us now, in Concluſion, analyze the State of Melody and Song, among the ancient *Hebrews*.

The leading Singularity of this extraordinary People was their Rejection of Idolatry, and their eſtabliſhed Worſhip of the *one* GOD, the *Creator* of the World. As this Circumſtance gave a peculiar Colour to their *Religion*; ſo, upon the Principles of this Diſſertation it will follow, that it muſt give a Peculiar Turn to their *Muſic*; becauſe we have ſeen, that the Genius of the *original Muſic* of every Country depends on its *Religion* as its chief *Baſis*.

In Conſequence of this Principle, their *Song* or *Poem* was chiefly dedicated to the *Celebration* of the *true* GOD the *Creator* of all things: At other Times it is compoſed of *moral Exhortations*, delivered as the Dictates of his Will, or thrown out in prophetic Raptures concerning the great Intents of his Providence.——Hence the *Hymn*, *Ode*, or poetic *Rapture*, which we have found to be naturally the firſt Form of Compoſition among all Nations, appeared with unrivaled Splendor in the *Hebrew* Poetry, becauſe its *Object* is ſo much *Superior* to that of other Nations: The one being no more than the limited and narrow Power of ſuppoſed *local Gods*; the other, the Omnipotence and Wiſdom of an *eternal* and *univerſal Creator*. Of this Diſtinction their *Bards* were fully ſenſible. "As for the Gods of "the Heathen, they are but *Idols*; but it is the *Lord* "that

" that *made* the *Heavens.*" The Book of Pſalms, the Lamentations, the Songs of MOSES, DAVID, ISAIAH, and other Prophets, all written in Meaſure, and ſung by thoſe who compoſed them, are ſo many ſtriking Inſtances of the true and unequaled Sublime.

With Reſpect to the *Form*, it may be obſerved, that their *Songs* or *Hymns* are of that *mixed* Species which naturally ariſeth firſt, before any Separations take Place, or produce the ſeveral Species of Compoſition. Though the *hymnal* Form be chiefly *predominant*, yet we find them frequently to be a Mixture of *Ode*, *Narration*, and *Dialogue*; and thus they contain the Seeds or Principles of the three great ſucceeding Kinds, of *unmixed Ode*, *Epic*, and *Tragedy*.

It may be regarded as an extraordinary Circumſtance, that this firſt *mixed* Form of Compoſition ſhould have continued unchanged for a Period of at leaſt a thouſand Years; and that from firſt to laſt it ſhould never move forward, ſo as to produce the *Epic* and *Dramatic* Species: But on Examination it will appear, that the ſame Cauſe (the Worſhip of the one GOD) which produced the higheſt Degree of Sublime in the *hymnal* Species, naturally *checked* the Courſe of Poetry among the JEWS; and prevented that *Progreſſion* which we have found to ariſe from the natural State of Things, in *Pagan* Countries.

With Reſpect to the *Epic* Poem, we have ſeen that, in its firſt and original Conception and Formation, it is no other than " A fabulous Hiſtory, rowling chiefly " on the great Actions of the Gods and Heroes of the " Nation; and compoſed under certain Limitations " with Reſpect to its Manner, for the Ends of Plea- " ſure, Admiration, and Inſtruction." Hence, the *true* GOD being the ſole Object of the Adoration of the HEBREWS, and their Records being the ſacred Depoſitary of the *Hiſtory* of his *Providence*, the Truth of which it was deemed the higheſt Crime to violate; the Invention and Conſtruction of an *Epic Fable* could never be the Reſult of a natural and untaught Progreſſion.

If

If the *Epic* Form was thus naturally prevented by the Severity of Truth, the firſt Form of *Tragedy*, and *dramatic Exhibition* muſt of Courſe be checked from the ſame Principle: For we have ſeen that the native and original tragic Species is but an Union of the Ode and Epic Fable, animated by perſonal Repreſentation. To this we may ſubjoin, that an additional Abſurdity would here preſent itſelf: The Abſurdity of cloathing the *Deity* in a viſible and *human Form:* A Circumſtance ſtrictly forbidden by the *Jewiſh* Law.

If it be ſaid, that although theſe Reaſons are good, againſt their introducing the *Deity* as the leading Subject either of *Epic* or *dramatic Fable*, yet ſtill their *Heroes* might have furniſhed Subjects for *Both:* We may reply, that all the great Actions of their Heroes were ſo intimately connected with the important Hiſtory of Providence, which this People were deſtined both to *execute* and *preſerve*, that even *Theſe* became improper Subjects for the Mixture and Alloy of Fable. And farther; The very Tendency of Fancy towards ſuch a Progreſſion of Poetry was quenched *here* alſo, in its firſt Conception. For the firſt and original Enthuſiaſms of an untaught Tribe are awakened by the Belief, that their deceaſed Heroes are advanced to the Rank of *Gods*, and ſtill maintain their former *Relation* and *Affection* to their native *Country*: Hence the Imagination is kindled by the Hope of their Favour and Aſſiſtance: Hence Adoration riſeth; flattering Fables of their Power, Proweſs, and Atchievements, are invented; and the Genius of *Epic* and *Tragic* Song is awakened into Action. But where (as among the JEWS) their greateſt Men are repreſented as what they were, weak, ignorant, and mortal; often humbled for their Sins; always under the Controul of an over-ruling Providence; and after Death, loſt to every earthly Connexion; here, the firſt natural Enthuſiaſms of the Soul could meet with no Objects to excite them: A Colliſion was wanting: And the artleſs Mind, inſtructed only in ſacred Things, returned of itſelf to the unmixed and inartificial

artificial Celebration of the *all-wiſe* and *all-powerful* GOD.

As, from theſe Cauſes, the Forms of their *Song* never had any Progreſſion; ſo, it ſeems probable, that their *Melody* ſtood ſtill, in the ſame Manner. Its Application was chiefly to the Service of Religion; and as their Hymn continued unchanged in its Genius, we may reaſonably believe that the Melody which accompanied it, had the ſame Fate. For though there was nothing particular ordained, with Reſpect to Muſic, in the *Moſaic* Law; yet, where almoſt every other Circumſtance relative to Worſhip was particularly preſcribed, this Severity of Inſtitution would give a Kind of Sanctity to every ancient Cuſtom that ſtood connected with it; and hence their Modes of Melody would probably remain unchanged. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS informs us, that their Hymns were compoſed in the *Dorian* Mode [*g*]: Which, whatever it was, we know to have been one of the moſt *ancient*, as well as *grave* and *ſedate*; and therefore fit for the Service of the Temple.—Their Inſtruments were various, but ſimple: That which DAVID chiefly uſed, appears to have been the *Nabla* or *Trigonon*; a three-cornered Inſtrument, of the *Harp*-Species. Its Compaſs we know from his own Authority; and that it was an Inſtrument of *ten Strings*. We may be aſſured, too, that his Melody was not only ſimple, but ſingle: For he muſt have held his Harp with one Hand, and played with the other, when he led the *religious Dance* before the Ark.

As their *Song* and *Melody*, ſo their *Dance* ſeems to have been chiefly employed in the Service of Religion. The moſt frequent Exerciſe of this religious Rite devolved upon the Women. It appears too, that the Prophets had ſome Kind of *ſolemn Movements*, ſuited to the State and Circumſtances of their divine Enthuſiaſm: This Branch of the triple muſical Alliance ſeems (as in other Countries) to have made the earlieſt Sepa-

[*g*] STROMAT. l. vi.

ration.

ration. It appears to have been chiefly exerciſed by the lower Ranks, in the Time of DAVID: And hence it was, that MICHAL, the Daughter of SAUL, like a true fine Lady, deſpiſed that Monarch, for exerciſing a Mode of Piety, which in her Days was *no longer faſhionable.*

As to the united or complex Character of *Legiſlator* and *Bard*, it is remarkable, that this was preſerved among the JEWS through a longer Succeſſion of Ages than in any other Nation, from the ſame Cauſe which prevented any Progreſſion or Change in the Forms of their Song: For the muſical Art being chiefly exerciſed in the Praiſes of the true GOD, was in leſs Danger of being *corrupted*, and therefore not only its *Utility* was longer *preſerved*, but likewiſe its *Profeſſors* were in leſs Danger of being *debaſed*, than in other Countries where trifling or immoral Applications of the Art enſued. Conſequently, the Rulers of the People could have no Temptation to quit any Part of that Character or Office, which ſtill maintained its priſtine Uſe and Dignity. Accordingly, we find, that from *Moſes* down to SOLOMON, during a Period of at leaſt a thouſand Years, the *complex* Character of *Legiſlator* and *Bard* often appeared in the moſt diſtinguiſhed Leaders of their State, and from firſt to laſt remained unbroken. MOSES, their firſt great Lawgiver, led the Song of Triumph, on the Overthrow of the *Egyptians* in the *Red-Sea* [*h*]: MIRIAM, a diſtinguiſhed Propheteſs, led the female Dance and Choir, on the ſame Occaſion [*i*]. While the *Judges* ruled in ISRAEL, this complex Office ſtill remained. DEBORAH is an Inſtance of this Truth: She *judged* ISRAEL; and ſung her noble Song of Triumph, on the Death of SISERA and JABIN. We find, that whoever was raiſed to the Station of a *Judge*, or *Chief*, was commonly inveſted not only with

[*h*] EXODUS. [*i*] Ibid.

the *prophetic* but the *bard-like* Character: For we know, that the Prophets generally ſung their prophetic Raptures to the Harp [*k*]. In After-times, when SAUL was elected *King*, he too aſſumed at once the prophetic and muſical Office. The Songs and bard-like Powers of DAVID, his *kingly* Succeſſor, are too well known to need an Illuſtration. The ſame muſical and poetic Character maintained its Union with that of *King*, in his Son SOLOMON; whoſe *Songs*, we are told, were no leſs than a *thouſand and five*. After him the *complex* Office of *Legiſlator* and *Bard* ſeems to have *ſeparated*: The peculiar Cauſes which had ſo long upheld it in the *Jewiſh* State, now began to ceaſe: For *Idolatry* more and more prevailed, *Manners* became *corrupt*, and public Miſery and Ruin enſued. The *Prophets* and *Bards* were now no longer found in the Courts of Kings, or among the Rulers of the People: Yet ſtill they continued to throw out the Emanations of prophetic and moral Truth, accompanied with the Enthuſiaſm of *Song*, in the more retired, and yet uncorrupt Situations of private Life: And ſuch were the *later Prophets*, whoſe Writings ſtill remain in Scripture.

As this appears to be a true Analyſis of the State of *Muſic* among the ancient HEBREWS; it will now lead us to an eaſy Solution of a Fact which hath been regarded as myſterious by ſome of the Learned; "That "while moſt other Nations had their *Bards* or *Poets*; "the JEWS, though their Compoſitions are uncommonly ſublime, never had any *Poets by Profeſſion*, nor "even a Word in their Language which denotes the "Character [*l*]." The Principles here given afford a clear Solution of this Singularity. Their *Prophets* were indeed their *Bards*; and appear to have been inveſted with all the Dignity belonging to that Office in its moſt honoured State. But as the Almighty GOD, and the great Events of his *Providence*, were the continued *Object* of

[*k*] 1 SAM. X—1 CHRON. XXV. [*l*] CALMET. *Diſſert. ſur la Poeſie*, &c.

their

their *Songs*; ſo, the *poetic* or *muſical* Character was but *ſecondary* to the *religious*: Therefore the Name of *Bard* was ſwallowed up and loſt in the higher Title of "*The* "PROPHET *of the* MOST HIGH."

SECT. XI.

Of the State of Muſic and Poetry in ancient ROME.

WE have now traced the Progreſs of *Melody* and *Song*, through the moſt remarkable Periods of thoſe various Nations, in which their *Riſe*, *Union*, and *Progreſs* was *native* and *original*. Let us now view them in their more *weak*, *borrowed*, and *ſeparate* State: This Inquiry will bring us down to our own Times: And here we muſt occaſionally quit the ancient Names of *Melody* and *Song*; and ſometimes adopt thoſe Titles which the two Arts (now ſeparate) received in the later Ages of GREECE, and which they have ever ſince retained among the poliſhed Nations of EUROPE, I mean thoſe of MUSIC and POETRY.

The firſt Flight which *Muſic* and *Poetry* took from GREECE was to ROME: For in this imperial City, they were not *native*. The Cauſes of this original Defect, together with the State and Progreſſions of theſe Arts at ROME, on their Arrival from GREECE, will make the Subject of this Section.

The only Cauſe that hath been aſſigned for the Want of Muſic and Poetry among the *Romans* in the early Ages of the Republic, hath been "that their "Attention to War and Conqueſt ſwallowed up all "other Regards; and therefore Muſic and Poetry were "of courſe neglected." This Reaſoning might hold, if theſe Arts made no more than a mere *Amuſement* in the *early* Ages, as they generally do in the *later* Periods of a State. But as it appears in the Courſe of this Diſſertation, that Melody and Song are the natural

Produce of ſavage Life, however warlike; that the Continuance of this warlike Character tends rather to heighten than extinguiſh their Power; and that the Hiſtory of Human Nature confirms this Truth; We muſt therefore ſeek for this peculiar Defect in ſome other, and more hidden Cauſe.

There is a Principle which relates to the Eſtabliſhment and Character of *Colonies*, which will hereafter appear attended with extenſive Conſequences, and which will aſſiſt us in unfolding the true Foundation of this Defect.

Melody, *Dance* and *Song*, being the natural Effects of ſavage Manners continuing through ſeveral Ages, it muſt follow, that *Colonies* will in general be found to poſſeſs them in a very imperfect State. For *Colonies* are ſeldom ſent out, till that early Period is paſt, when the *Legiſlator's* and *Bard's* Character are *united* in the ſame Perſon. Hence, the *Leader* of the new Colony not being poſſeſſed of the poetic and muſical Enthuſiaſm, can neither have *Ability* nor *Inclination* to inſtil or propagate theſe Arts among his Followers. Thus the firſt leading Flame of Enthuſiaſm is quenched: And the inferior Ranks, being buſied in the Affairs of their new Settlement, have not that Leiſure which the unemployed Savage State affords, to turn their Attention on theſe natural Pleaſures: For Colonies of Men ſeldom depart from their native Country, unleſs when driven by ſome Kind of *Neceſſity*: And therefore muſt betake themſelves, for Subſiſtance, either to *Induſtry* or *War*. The laſt of theſe was the chief Occupation of the *Roman* State: And thus, not becauſe they were a *warlike* People, but becauſe they were a *needy Colony*, the *muſical Arts* which were ſo *powerful* in *early* GREECE, were ſo *weak* in early ROME.

This Obſervation will hold true of moſt other Countries peopled by foreign Nations after a certain Period of Civilization. Thus CARTHAGE was a Colony which went out from TYRE: And *Muſic*, which was of Weight in the *native* City, was of no Conſideration

in

in the *deſcendant* State. Thus again, the *Iriſh*, *Welch*, and *Scots*, are ſtrictly *natives*; and accordingly, have a Muſic of *their own*: The *Engliſh*, on the contrary, are a foreign Mixture of late-eſtabliſhed Colonies; and as a Conſequence of this, have *no native Muſic*. He who would find the *original Muſic* of ENGLAND, muſt ſeek it in WALES.

Here, then, appears the true Cauſe of this Defect in the early Ages of ROME. So ignorant were the *Trojan* Founders of the Empire in the muſical Arts, that they had not even the firſt Rudiments of *Song*: For we are told by a learned *Roman*, that when ÆNEAS brought the Images of the Gods to Shore, "the *Wo-*" *men howled* and *danced* at the Solemnity [*m*]."

The Hiſtory of the muſical Arts in ROME confirms this general Principle: Their Muſic and Poetry was always *borrowed* and *adopted*; Let us trace its Progreſs through the ſeveral ſucceeding ages.

NUMA POMPILIUS firſt introduced theſe Arts into the *Roman* religious Ceremonies. Had he been a *Native* of ROME, he had been a clear Exception to the Principle here given: But inſtead of overturning, he confirms it: For he was a retired, philoſophic, and illuſtrious *Sabine*: And the *Salian* Prieſts which he eſtabliſhed, were *Muſicians* or *Bards*, who had been brought by EVANDER from ARCADIA into ITALY [*n*]. Thus, the *Salian* Songs were not *native*, but *tranſplanted* into ROME.

We find no farther Progreſs in the muſical and poetic Arts, for many Ages: Save only, that a vague Rumour prevailed in the later Periods of the Commonwealth, that in ancient Times it had been uſual to ſing the Praiſes of great Men at Feaſts [*o*].

The next Progreſſion of the muſical Arts in ROME, was the *Adoption* of the *Thuſcan Shews*: Theſe, as

[*m*] DIONYS. *Halicarn.* l. i. c. 55. [*n*] DIONYS. *Hal.* l. i. [*o*] CICERO *de Leg.* l. ii.

LIVY informs us, were called in from ETRURIA during a fatal Peſtilence, with a View of appeaſing the angry Gods [*p*]. The borrowed Flame was ſoon caught and ſpread among the *Roman* Youth; who by Degrees gave *Voice* to the *mute Action* of the *Thuſcans*.

To theſe the *Atellane* Plays ſucceeded; being in the ſame manner *borrowed* and adopted by the *Roman* People from the OSCI, a neighbouring Province: Both theſe, and the *Thuſcan Shews* ſeem to have been *native* in their reſpective Diſtricts; and therefore we need go no farther in Queſt of their true Origin, than to the untaught Progreſſion and Separation of *Melody*, *Dance*, and *Song*: But on their firſt Entrance into ROME, theſe dramatic ſhows were no longer in their *natural*, but in an *ingrafted* State. The firſt Idea, then, of *Comedy* was caught by *Adoption* in this Republic: Here, as in the Adoption of the *Salian Songs*, they were mere *Imitators*. And thus, contrary to the natural Courſe of Things (as we have proved above [*q*]) *Comedy* had, by Accident, an Eſtabliſhment prior to *Tragedy* in ancient ROME.

As it appears that in the firſt Periods of theatrical and dramatic Repreſentation, it is natural for the *Poet* to *act* a Part in his own Plays [*r*]; ſo LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, the firſt known dramatic Poet of ROME [*s*], maintained this natural *Union* of the *Poet* and *Actor*, which he had received from the adopted Shews. But ſo little were theatrical Repreſentations the Effect of Nature at ROME, and ſo much were they received as mere Shews of *Pleaſure* and *Amuſement*, that even at this early Period an unexampled *Separation* commenced; a Separation more abſurd than any that had taken Place in GREECE. For now, "LIVIUS acting "his own Play according to the Cuſtom of the Times, "was compelled by the People to repeat ſome favou-

[*p*.] LIV. *Hiſt.* l. vii. [*q*] Sect. vii. [*r*] Sect. vi. [*s*] Art. 26.

"rite

" rite Paſſages, till his Voice grew hoarſe: On which, " he obtained Leave to ſubſtitute a Slave to *ſing* the " Poem along with the *Muſician*, while he himſelf " performed the *Action* in dumb Shew [*t*]." Thus an *abſurd Separation* was eſtabliſhed; and continued ſo eſtabliſhed through the ſucceeding Ages of the *Roman* Empire [*u*]. Hence ROSCIUS himſelf, of whom the World hath heard ſo much, was often no more than an Imitator by *mute* Action. We may ſafely pronounce it impoſſible that this Separation could have come on, unleſs the theatric Repreſentations had already degenerated into a mere *Amuſement*. When a *ſlave* was permitted to *ſing* the *Poem*, we may be ſure the chief Attention was turned on the *Geſticulation* of the *Actor*. That which in a *ſound* State of things had been *ſubordinate*, was now become *principal*.

However, the theatrical Shews in this Period ſeem to have had little Effect; the Manners of the People continuing much the ſame with thoſe of more ancient Times. After the Succeſſion of a few Ages, the principal Progreſſions came on; and theſe aroſe from their Acquaintance with, and their Conqueſt of GREECE.

As this Event happened many Years after the muſical Arts had loſt their *Union*, their proper *Ends*, and original *Genius* in the *Mother-Country*; ſo it was natural, that the *Romans* (now verging towards a Decline of Manners) ſhould greedily borrow and adopt them, in that *ſeparate*, *imperfect*, and *perverted* State, which theſe Arts held when the *Greeks* were conquered by the *Romans*. Let us therefore trace them from their firſt to their laſt Progreſſions in ROME; where we ſhall find, that from being of mere Amuſement or little Utility, they degenerated by Degrees into Things pernicious

In the early Periods of GREECE, the Poet compoſed the Melody for his Plays: In the Decline of the

[*t*] LIV. *Hiſt.* l. vii. [*u*] LUCIAN *de Salt.*

Greek States, the Melody was the diſtinct Labour of another Perſon [*u*]. This Separation the *Romans* maintained: A Conduct natural among thoſe who conſidered theſe Arts as the Inſtruments of Pleaſure only. The neceſſary Conſequence of this was the gradual Introduction of an effeminate and luxuriant Melody; of which both CICERO [*w*] and HORACE [*x*] in their reſpective Times complain.

In Conſequence of theſe, a new and fatal Separation enſued. The *Player*, who in the uncorrupted Ages of GREECE was often of the *firſt Rank* in the Republic, was generally of *ſlaviſh* Birth at *Rome*; and was by Law excluded from the Freedom of the City [*y*].

A whimſical Change was made in the Form of the *Maſque*: For in order to give a *Variety* of *Expreſſion*, which became neceſſary as the Fable of their Comedy grew more *complicated*, the two Sides were marked with *different Paſſions*. "The Father, who is a principal "Character in the Comedy, as he is ſometimes *pleaſed*, "and ſometimes *angry*, hath one of his Eyebrows "even, and the other *raiſed* aloft: and the *Roman* "Actors take Care to ſhew *that Side* of the *Maſque* to "the Audience which ſuits with his *preſent Temper* [*z*]."

With Reſpect to the *Subjects* of their *Tragedy*, they were here no leſs mere Imitators. For although they had one Species in which their own Great Men were the *Heroes* of the Poem, yet even this was not original, but altogether built on the *Grecian* Model. But farther, we learn from HORACE, that the moſt approved Subjects were thoſe which were drawn from HOMER's Poems. He gives this as a Rule to the Poets of his Time and Country; "That to throw the Fables of the "*Iliad* into tragic Scenes is a ſafer and better Practice, "than to attempt Subjects yet untouched." A Paſ-

[*u*] See above, Sect. vi. Art 35. [*w*] *De Leg.* l. ii. [*x*] *Epiſt. ad Piſ.*
[*y*] LIV. *Hiſt.* l. xxiv. [*z*] QUINTIL. *Inſt.* l. ii. c. 11.

ſage

ſage which contains the cleareſt Proof, that Tragedy was now ſeparated from its higheſt Purpoſes; and that the *great Ends* of this *Poem*, which gave it ſo much *Power* in GREECE, were utterly loſt to the Roman People.

The primary Applications of *Tragedy* being thus little known in ROME, even on its firſt Admiſſion; we cannot wonder that it became a weak and languid Amuſement: Eſpecially, among a People whoſe Manners were now ſinking into That Character which tended to give *Comedy* the Aſcendant, as in the declining Period of the *Greek* States. Thus the true Cauſe appears, why *Comedy* was cultivated ſo much more than *Tragedy*, in every Period of this Republic.

The *Ode* or *hymnal* Species ſeems to have been as effectually ſeparated from the Ends of *Public Utility*, as the *Tragic* Poem. HORACE often declares his Inability to attempt any thing *Great* in this Kind. The general Character of his Odes correſponds much with his own Sentiment: They are always elegant, ſeldom majeſtic. His *Irreligion* even *diſqualified* him from excelling in the *higheſt Species* of the *Ode*: For of this, we have ſeen, *Religion* muſt be the *Object*: And although there be a variety of fine *moral* Apophthegms, and frequent Alluſions to the *public State* of ROME; yet theſe are always *checked*, and made *ſubſervient* to the Favour of MÆCENAS and AUGUSTUS. In a Word, they are but *ſecondary*: *Urbanity* of Sentiment, *Elegance* of *Phraſe*, and of *Compliment* to his Maſters, were manifeſtly his *firſt Object*.

With Regard to the Character of the famed *Roman Epic* Poem; notwithſtanding the inordinate Praiſes that have been laviſhed on VIRGIL's *Æneid*, it may with Truth be affirmed, that neither the *original* nor *legiſlative* Spirit of ancient GREECE appear with any uniform Splendor through the Courſe of this celebrated Work. Elegant in Diction, a Maſter in Rythm and Numbers, nervous in Figures, majeſtic in Deſcription, pathetic in tragic Incidents, ſtrong in the Delineation

of Character, accompliſhed in all the *ſecondary Qualities* of an *Epic Poet*; yet ſtill VIRGIL wanted that all-comprehenſive Genius which alone can conceive and ſtrike out a great original Epic Plan, no leſs than that independent Greatneſs of Soul which was quenched by the *ruinous Policy* of the Times, and which alone can animate true Genius to a full Exertion of its Powers in the Cauſe of *public Virtue* and *Mankind*. Through the firſt of theſe Defects, the *Æneid* abounds with Incidents that are borrowed, unconnected, broken, and ill-placed; through the ſecond, though here and there the Spirit of *general Legiſlation* appears, yet the great Subjects *peculiarly relative* to the *Roman* State, the *Glories* of the *Republic*, the *Atchievements* of its *Heroes*, all theſe are caſt into *Shades*, and ſeen as through a *Veil*; while the *ſtrongeſt Lights* and *higheſt Colourings* of his Pencil are *proſtituted* to the *Vanity* of the *ruling Tyrant*.

As both the *Ode* and *Epic* had thus degenerated from their original Character in GREECE, ſo we ſhall find that the *Recitation* of them kept Pace with this ſpurious Birth. We have already ſeen, that in the more early Periods of the *Greek* Republics, their Poems were *ſung* to the ſurrounding Audience for the important Ends of *Religion*, *Morals*, and *Polity*. In ROME, as in the later Periods of GREECE, we find the *Song* brought down to *Recitation*, and theſe *great Purpoſes* ſwallowed up and loſt in the *Vanity* and *Self-Importance* of the *Poet*. Hence we find their beſt Writers declaring their Diſlike to the Practice of *public Recitation*, becauſe Flattery was now become the Food of every reciting Poetaſter. The whole Farce and Foppery of this Practice, which was indeed no other than the ſpurious Iſſue of the old *Grecian Song-Feaſt*, is given at large by VOSSIUS, to whom, for Brevity's Sake, we refer [*a*].

The muſical Arts, being thus *ſeparated*, and *perverted* from their *proper Ends*, no Wonder that we hear ſo

[*a*] *De Imitatione*, c. 7. &c.

little

little of their being applied to the *Education* of *Youth*, in any Period of ancient ROME.

On the contrary, as Manners and Principles grew more profligate, along with the inordinate growing Power and Luxuries of the Empire; ſo the Genius of the *poetic* and *muſical* Arts kept Pace with them. *Poem*, which in the Days of ancient GREECE had been the *Handmaid* of *Virtue*, was now declared to be the *Bawd* of *Licentiouſneſs*; and to write *immodeſt* Verſes was held a *blameleſs* Practice [*b*]. Thus the Art ſunk ſo low, that the Name of *Poet*, was held unworthy a Man of *Age* or *Dignity* [*c*]. The *mimetic* and *muſical* Arts grew not only an intolerable Burthen, but became at length of moſt pernicious Influence on the State. The Attention to the *mimetic* Art was now carried to a moſt ridiculous Extreme. CICERO informs us, that the Players practiſed ſeveral Years, before they ventured upon the Stage [*d*]: That the Actors, in Imitation of the degenerate *Greeks*, gradually awakened their Powers of Speech in the Morning, leſt by too ſudden an Exertion they ſhould endanger the Voice [*e*]. They gargled the Throat with a Compoſition proper for the Purpoſe: And the Methods of managing and improving the Voice were now formed into a ſeparate Science [*f*]. In a Word, LIVY complains, that "an "Amuſement which was harmleſs in its Beginnings, "had now grown to ſuch a Madneſs of Expence, "that the wealthieſt Kingdoms were hardly equal to "it [*g*]."

In the later Periods the Miſchief grew ſtill more intolerable: For now, the ſerious Arts were cultivated by Few: Nothing was heard but light and effeminate Muſic: The Singer took the Philoſopher's Place; the

[*b*] *Caſtum decet eſſe Poetam: Ipſos Verſiculos nihil neceſſe eſt.* [*c*] *Turpe eſt Senem Verſus ſcribere.* [*d*] CIC. *de Oratore*, l. i. [*e*] Ibid. [*f*] PERSIUS *Sat.* I. [*g*] L vii.

Libraries

Libraries were ſhut up; and the general Attention was turned upon muſical Inſtruments proper to accompany and ſuſtain the Geſticulation of the Actors The Effects of this Diſſolute Taſte ſoon appeared: For QUINTILIAN tells us, that "the effeminate and immodeſt "Muſic of the Stage had no inconſiderable Part in de-"ſtroying that ſmall Degree of manly Character "which had been left among them [*b*]."

The Evil ſtill increaſed: So that in the Time of NERO, "The City ſwarmed with *Pantomimes:* Every "private Houſe now became a Theatre; and the "Huſband and Wife contended, which ſhould moſt "ſucceſsfully *proſtitute* themſelves to the *Favour* of the "*Actors* [*i*]."

There is a Time, when Nature ſtruggles hard to free herſelf from peccant and deadly Humours. This Time was now come at ROME; but it came too late: The Body politic was expiring, and was not able to ſhake off the Evil: The Pantomimes were twice expelled; but ſtill returned again [*k*]. At length, the barbarous Nations of the North broke in upon the dying Empire. TOTILA attacked and pillaged ROME: The degenerate Arts ſunk with the degenerate City: And the Patrician Ladies, who lately had revelled amidſt the Spoils of a ſubjected World, now begged before their own Doors.

The extravagant Paſſion of ſome of their later Emperors for the muſical Arts, and theſe too of the moſt debauched and profligate Characters, particularly CALIGULA and NERO, is too well known to need a Delineation: This Eſſay is not intended as a *Hiſtory* of *Facts*, but an *Inveſtigation* of the *Cauſes* that produced them. On this Subject, therefore, there is one Circumſtance which may demand our attention. We have ſeen above, that the firſt original Legiſlators tur-

[*b*] *Inſt.* l i. [*i*] SENECA *Nat. Quæſt.* l. vii.
[*k*] TAC. *An.* l. xiii, xiv.

ned

ned their Attention ſtrongly on the muſical Arts; and we now find, that the abandoned Rulers of a decaying Empire adopt them with no leſs Eagerneſs: Doth not this Contrariety of Facts ſeem to ſhake ſome of the Principles which we have attempted to eſtabliſh? So far from this, that it confirms them: For in both Inſtances, *Muſic* was made *ſubſervient* to the *Views* or ruling *Paſſions* of thoſe who *led* the People. The honeſt Legiſlators of early Times employed it for the Ends of public Utility; the profligate Emperors abuſed it to the Purpoſes of Licentiouſneſs. Among the former, by a legitimate Uſe, it became the Inſtrument of eſtabliſhing Commonwealths: Among the latter, by a perverted Application, it ſhook the Foundations of Empire: ORPHEUS drew the barbarous Tribes from Theft, Adultery, and Murder, by his Songs and Lyre: NERO plundered his Patricians of their Eſtates to load his Muſicians with Wealth; and amidſt the forced Acclamations of a corrupted Theatre, violated a veſtal Virgin on the Stage.

SECT. XII.

Of the State and Separation of Muſic and Poetry among the poliſhed Nations of EUROPE *through the ſucceeding Ages.*

THUS the muſical and poetic Arts ſunk along with the *Roman* Empire.—But Mankind, emerging from the Ruins of *Luxury*, *Profligacy*, and *Invaſion*, are of a different Character from that of human Nature ariſing from mere *Barbarity* into *Civilization*. We have traced the natural Progreſs of theſe Arts in the *laſt* of theſe; but from the *former*, nothing conſiſtent or ſteady can ariſe. The Views, Manners, Principles, and Paſſions of a furious Conqueror, meeting and mixing

ing with thoſe of a ſubdued and abandoned People, producing ſuch a Compound of diſſimilar and contending Cauſes, as approach in their Effects to the Appearance of mere Chance or Fortune.

But the Circumſtance moſt worth remarking is this, that in ſuch a Period, all the natural Seeds and Principles of the muſical Arts are loſt. The whole *local* Fabric of *Religion*, *Polity*, and *Morals*, is commonly ſunk in the general Ruin; and a barbarous Conqueror followed by an enraged Soldiery, who have left their own Country to invade another, have generally the *Vices* of *Savages*, without their *Virtues*.

Hence the *muſical* Arts could not ariſe from the Ruins of the *Roman* Empire, but from the ineffectual Principle of *mere Imitation*. They wanted that *native* Force and Vigour which had given them ſo free and full a Growth in ancient GREECE.

Such therefore being the Birth of the *modern Poetry* and *Muſic* of EUROPE; having been the caſual Offſpring of the corrupted *Roman* Arts, which were themſelves no more than partial Imitations of the *Greek*, in their State of Separation and Weakneſs; no wonder if the *modern Tranſcript* be *inferior*, not only to the *Original*, but the *firſt Copy*.

This general Principle being given, we might perhaps end our Inquiry here: Leaving the more particular Inveſtigation to the good Senſe and Judgment of Mankind: But to give all poſſible Satisfaction on a Subject which may by ſome be regarded as a Matter of Curioſity, we ſhall trace the Riſe and Progreſs of theſe Arts in their chief Appearances, ſo far as they have Relation to each other.

Before the Roman Empire fell to Ruin, its Rulers took Care to the utmoſt of their Power, to extirpate the native Muſic of the barbarous Countries which they conquered. Of this JULIUS CÆSAR, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS and SUETONIUS inform us. This was a high Stroke of Policy: For their native Songs being (as in ancient GREECE) the Repoſitory of their Religious

Religious and Political Syſtem, nothing could ſo effectually *ſubdue* the *Minds* of theſe Barbarians, as the Baniſhment or Deſtruction of their *Bards* and *Druids*. We have already ſeen EDWARD the Firſt of ENGLAND acting the ſame Tragedy in WALES, on the ſame Principle.

On the Revival of Learning, the three greater Kinds of *Poetry* were in many Inſtances, neceſſarily *divorced* from *Muſic*. For the *Greek* and *Roman* Poets being the only approved *Models*, could be read and imitated by *Scholars only*. Thus, the *Art* which in ancient GREECE had been the genuine Effect of natural Enthuſiaſm, and, aided by a native and correſpondent Melody, had been delivered to the People by the inraptured Bard, could now be ſtudied and attained only by the *ſequeſtered Few*, who were ſwallowed up by a literary Application, often ignorant of the Powers of Muſic, and little acquainted with Society and Mankind.—Hence the *Epic Poet* (the Manners of the Times likewiſe forbidding [*l*]) could no longer appear at the Place of publick Concourſe, with his Lyre and feſtal Robes, to charm the liſtening Audience with his legiſlative Songs; but retired to the *Cloſet*, and with a more compoſed Mien delivered his Inſpirations in written Verſe, for the Pleaſure, Admiration, and Inſtruction of Mankind. —This might have been indured: Becauſe ſome of the general Ends of that calmer Species may be obtained by a *Home-application*. But the misfortune was, that even *Tragedy* and *Ode*, whoſe End is to ſhake the Soul with Terror, Pity, or Joy, by a *theatrical Exhibition* [*m*], and

[*l*] See below, Sect xiii.

[*m*] It hath become a favourite Topic among certain Perſons, to decry the theatrical Exhibition of Tragedy, as an object below the Ambition of a Poet. Whether any faſtidious tragic Muſe hath *privately* knocked at the Door of the Theatre, and been *refuſed Admittance*, we ſhall not here *affirm*: But it belongs to our

and the *Powers* of *Muſic*;—even theſe, in many Inſtances and in different Periods, were *divorced* from their *Aſſiſtant Arts*, and became the *languid Amuſement* of the *Cloſet*. For being often written by retired and ſpeculative men, unacquainted with the Workings of the human Soul, and attending only to the *external Form* and *poetic Ornaments* of the *Greek Drama*; their Vanity hath been either to *ſoar* or dive into *Obſcurity*, to ſubſtitute mere *Imagery* in the place of *Paſſion*, to plan and write in a *cold* Style, ſo far removed from Nature, as to be incapable of a *living Repreſentation*; in a Word, to compoſe *Tragedies* that cannot be *acted*, and *Odes* that cannot be *ſung*.

This falſe Taſte in *Ode-writing* hath ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed itſelf in ENGLAND, that an *Ode* of the *true* Character is ſtiled (by Way of Diſtinction) *An Ode for Mu-*

our Subject to ſhew on what Foundation the theatrical Exhibition makes an eſſential Part of Tragedy; and that without it, the tragic Poem is an *imperfect Species*.

The Epic Poem not only imitates Actions, Sentimemts, Characters, and Paſſions; but likewiſe delineates their chief external and attendant Circumſtances of Place, Voice, Countenance, Attitude and Geſture: And hence a full and perfect Imitation enſues. In the Dramatic or Tragic Poem, little of this latter Kind can be admitted without violating the Probability and Power of the Dialogue: On this Foundation, the Deſcription of theſe external and attendant Circumſtances is neceſſarily left to the conduct of the *Actor*; who in theſe Articles, aſſumes the Province of the Poet, and is a real *Imitator*. Hence a dramatic Poem, *written*, but *not repreſented*, is capitally defective in the great Article of *Imitation*; and is therefore a Species *eſſentially imperfect*.—ARISTOTLE hath overlooked this capital Diſtinction between the Epic and Tragic Poem, in his Compariſon of theſe two Species. *Poet.* c xxvi.

ſic:

ſic: Of this Kind we have two noble ones in our Language, by DRYDEN and POPE: But theſe will be conſidered more at large below.

As the modern Poetry thus became often unfit for Muſic, ſo from a ſingular Cauſe the Separation was confirmed, and Muſic in its Turn became often unfit for Poetry. After many Centuries had paſſed in Darkneſs, GUIDO aroſe: And with a force of Genius ſurpaſſing that of all his Predeceſſors, invented the Art of *Counterpoint*, or *Compoſition* in *Parts*: Yet this very Circumſtance, which ſeemed to promiſe ſo noble an Improvement in Muſic, was a ſtrong concurrent Cauſe of compleating its Divorce from Poetry. For now, *inſtrumental* Muſic, having aſſumed a new and more inviting Form, and being ennobled by the principles of a complex and varied *Harmony*, was introduced as being of itſelf a *complete* Species, independent of Poetry or Song. This gave it an *artificial* and *laboured* Turn; while the Compoſer went in Queſt of curious Harmonies, Diſcords, Reſolutions, Fugues, and Canons; and prided himſelf (like the Poet) in a pompous Diſplay of Art, to the Neglect of *Expreſſion* and true *Pathos*. And thus modern Muſic, on its firſt riſe, was in a Manner divorced from *Poetry*, *Legiſlation*, and *Morals*.

Theſe Cauſes ſufficiently account for the preſent State of the two Siſter Arts, in every inſtance of their *total Separation*. Let us now conſider them in thoſe Situations where their Union is indeed in ſome Sort maintained, but this in an improper and ineffectual Manner.

The four diſtinct Forms in which theſe two Arts ſtill maintain an imperfect Union are, 1. The common *Song* or *Canzonette*. 2. The *Opera*, or *Drama* for the *Stage*. 3 The *Anthem*, or *Motet*, for the *Church*. 4. The *Oratorio*, or *ſacred Drama*.

1. The common *Song* or *Canzonette* hath ſunk from the original Dignity which is maintained in ancient GREECE, from two evident Cauſes. Firſt, The Separation of Muſic and Poetry from their important Ends,

Ends, and from each other naturally prevented the modern Poets and Muſicians from conſidering this Species as being much worthy of their Attention. Secondly, The nobler Applications of the *Song* being thus relinquiſhed and loſt, no Wonder if Men of high Station and moral Dignity diſdained the Practice of it (even where they had Ability) as being an Object unworthy of their Regard. Hence it hath come to paſs, that this Species is hardly ſuppoſed to touch on any Subject religious, political, or moral, unleſs it be in *Jeſt* [*n*]. And thus the reigning Topics of the *Song* are generally *Love* and *Wine*. The *French* and *Engliſh* have adopted both theſe Subjects: The *Chanſons à boire* of the former, and the *drinking Catches* of the latter, are Proofs of their Jollity rather than Taſte: Yet they clearly diſplay the different Characters of the two Nations. A parallel Remark might perhaps be made on their *Love-Songs*: With this Exception, however, that in a Song of this Kind, PURCEL hath left us one of the fineſt and beſt varied Pieces of muſical Expreſſion that ever was compoſed [*o*]: And in Juſtice to the preſent Times it muſt be farther obſerved, that in ENGLAND, this Species is now in a good Degree reſcued from its former Indelicacy. The *Italians* and *Scots* have chiefly turned the *Song* on the Subject of *Love*. With Reſpect to the *Poetry*, the *Italian Canzonettes* are more elegantly written than the *Scotch*, though with leſs Nature and Paſſion. In the *Muſic* of the *Italian Canzonettes* there is little Variety; They ſoon diſguſt, by their Sameneſs of Expreſſion: The *Scotch Airs* are perhaps the trueſt Model of artleſs and pathetic muſical Expreſſion, that can be found in the whole Compaſs of the Art. Some

[*n*] There are ſome Exceptions to this general Obſervation; but they take Place chiefly among the *Vulgar*; among whom the *Ballad Song* commonly retains its *moral* and *political* Applications.

[*o*] From roſy Bowers, *&c.*

of

of them are ſaid to have been the Compoſition of DAVID RIZZIO, who is ſuppoſed to have ingrafted the *Italian* Regularity and Elegance of Song, on the original wild and pathetic Manner of the *Scots*. This Tradition carries the Appearance of Truth: For the *Scotch* Airs are of two different Kinds, eaſily diſtinguiſhable from each other: The one *regular*, and ſubject to the rules of Counterpoint: The other wild and deſultory, and ſuch as do not eaſily receive the Accompanyment of a Baſs. The firſt of theſe may ſeem to have been the Compoſition or Reform of RIZZIO; but in the force of Expreſſion and Pathos, the latter generally excel them: A Circumſtance which proves how little the Rules of modern Counterpoint have to do with the *Powers* of *Muſic*.

The State of the *Opera* will deſerve a more particular Elucidation: And to this End we muſt endeavour to trace it to its Origin, which lies in great Meaſure hid in Darkneſs. RICCOBONI is of Opinion that the firſt ever repreſented, was that which the *Doge* and *Senate* of VENICE exhibited for the Entertainment of HENRY the third of FRANCE, in the Year 1574 [*p*]. But this Account is by no means ſatisfactory: For SULPITIUS, an Italian, ſpeaks of the *muſical Drama*, as an Entertainment known in ITALY in the Year 1490 [*q*].

Hiſtory traces the Riſe of the *Opera* no farther: But a Circumſtance mentioned by SULPITIUS, who was a Man of Letters, may ſeem to lead us up to its true Origin. He is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been the Inventor of this *muſical Drama*; but he ingenuouſly tells us himſelf, that he only *revived* it [*r*]. We have ſeen above, that the *Tragedy* of the ancient *Greeks* was accompanied with Muſic; that the ſame Union was borrowed and maintained through the ſeveral Periods of

[*p*.] *Theat.* &c. [*q*] MENETRIER *des Repreſentations en Muſique.* [*r*] ibid.

the

the *Roman* Empire: If therefore we ſuppoſe, what is altogether probable. that the Form of the ancient Tragedy had been ſtill kept up in ſome retired Part of ITALY, which the Barbarians never conquered; we then obtain a fair Account of the Riſe of the modern *Opera*, which hath ſo much confounded all Inquiry.

As VENICE was the Place where the *Opera* firſt appeared in Splendor, ſo it is highly probable, that *there* the *ancient Tragedy* had ſlept in Obſcurity, during the Darkneſs of the Barbarous Ages. For while the reſt of ITALY was over-run by the Nations from the North, the Seas and Moraſſes of VENICE preſerved *Her* alone from their Incurſions: Hence, Hiſtory tells us, the People flocked to VENICE from every Part of ITALY: Hence the very Form of her Republic hath been maintained for thirteen hundred Years: And from theſe Views of *Security*, it was natural for the helpleſs Arts to ſeek an Aſylum within her Canals, from the Fury and Ignorance of a barbarous Conqueror.

Other Circumſtances concur, to ſtrengthen this Opinion. The *Carnival* firſt appeared in Splendor, and ſtill wears it at VENICE, beyond every other Part of ITALY: Now the *Carnival* is, in many Circumſtances, almoſt a Tranſcript of the ancient *Saturnalia* of ROME.

In the *Venetian Comedy*, the *Actor* wears a *Maſque*: A palpable *Imitation*, or rather *Continuance*, of the old *Roman* Cuſtom.

That the modern *Opera* is no more than a Revival of the old *Roman Tragedy*, and not a new-invented Species, will appear ſtill more evident, if we conſider, that it is an Exhibition altogether out of Nature, and repugnant to the univerſal Genius of Modern Cuſtoms and Manners. We have ſeen the natural Union of Poetry and Muſic, as they riſe in the ſavage State; and how this Union forms the tragic Species in the natural Progreſſion of Things. Hence we have deduced the muſical Tragedies of ancient GREECE: But in ancient ROME, it appears, they aroſe merely from

Imitation

Imitation and *Adoption*. Nor could it be otherwiſe; becauſe the *Romans* wanted the firſt ſeeds or Principles from whence the muſical Tragedies of the *Greeks* aroſe. The ſame Reaſoning takes Place, with Reſpect to the modern *Opera*: It emerged at a Time, when the general State of Manners in EUROPE could not naturally produce it. Had it been the Reſult from *Nature*, its Production would have been more *general*. It emerged in that very City, where moſt probably it muſt have lain hid: In a City, whoſe other Entertainments are evidently borrowed from thoſe of ancient ROME. And if to theſe Arguments we add this farther Conſideration, that the Subjects of the very firſt *Operas* were drawn from the Fables of ancient GREECE and ROME [*q*], and not from the Events or Atchievements of the Times; and farther, that in their *Form*, they were exact Copies of the *ancient Drama*; theſe accumulated Proofs amount to near a Demonſtration, that the *Italian Opera* is but the *Revival* of the old *Roman Tragedy* [*r*].

Such being the *Birth* of the modern *Opera*, no Wonder it inherits the *Weakneſs* of its *Parent*: For we have ſeen, that the *Roman Tragedy* never had its proper Effects, conſidered in a *legiſlative* View; having been ſeparated from its important Ends before its Arrival from GREECE. As therefore it had declined into a mere *Amuſement* when it was firſt adopted by ROME; and as we have ſeen, that in Proportion as the Roman

[*q*] The Subjects of the firſt *Operas* were APOLLO and DAPHNE, ORPHEUS and EURIDICE, ALCESTES and ATYS; which laſt, in the Title Page of the oldeſt extant Edition, is called *a muſical Tragedy*.

[*r*] As theſe Circumſtances prove that the *modern Opera* is a *Revival* of the *old Roman Tragedy*; ſo, we are led from hence to a probable Conjecture concerning the *meaſured Recitation* of the *Roman Tragedians*: And that it was ſomething of the Nature of modern *Recitative*.

Manners,

Manners grew more diſſolute, Tragedy ſunk ſtill lower in its Character, till at length it became no more than a Kind of mere *Subſtratum* or *Ground-work*, on which the Actors diſplayed their Abilities in *Singing* and *Geſticulation*; it was altogether natural that it ſhould riſe again in the ſame unnerved and effeminate Form.

From theſe Cauſes, therefore, we may trace all the Features of the modern *Opera*, however *unnatural* and *diſtorted* they may appear. The *Poem*, the *Muſic* and the *Performance*, as they now exiſt in *Union*, are the manifeſt Effects of this ſpurious Origin.

Firſt, That the *Subject* of the *Poem* ſhould, even on its firſt Appearance, be drawn from Times and Countries little intereſting, and *Gods* and *Wonders* and *celeſtial Machinery* introduced, which neither the Poet nor his Audience *believed* in, could only be the Effect of a *blind* Principle of *Imitation*, tending to mere *Amuſement*.—The eſtabliſhed Separation of the Poet's from the Muſician's Art was productive of parallel Effects: For the Poet, ambitious only of ſhining in his particular Sphere, became generally more Intent on Imagery than Pathos: Or elſe, inſtead of being *principal*, he became *ſubſervient* to the Compoſer's Views; from whence aroſe a Motley kind of Poem (calculated only for a Diſplay of the Muſician's Art) which degenerated by Degrees into a mere *Paſticio*.

Secondly; the ſame Cauſes account for all the Abſurdities of the *Muſic*.—The *Recitative*, or perpetual muſical Accompanyment in the declamatory Parts, is a Practice ſo much at Variance with modern Manners, that it extorted the following Cenſure from a candid Critic: "I beg Pardon of the Inventors of the *muſical Tragedy*, a Kind of Poem, as *ridiculous* as it is *new*."—"If there be any thing in the World that "is at Variance with *tragic Action*, it is *Song*." "The "*Opera* is the *Groteſque* of Poetry; and ſo much the "more intolerable, as it pretends to paſs for a regular

"Work

"Work [*s*]." Now if, along with DACIER, we regard the *Opera* as a modern *Invention*, this Circumſtance of the perpetual muſical Accompanyment is indeed *unaccountable*: But if we regard it as a mere *Imitation* or *Continuance* of the old *Roman Tragedy*, and trace *this* upwards to its true Fountain, the *Greek Drama*; and again follow *this* to its original Source, the *ſavage Song-Feaſt*; we then ſee how naturally theſe *extremes unite*; and diſcern the rude *Melody* and *Song* of the *barbarous Greek* Tribes gradually melted into the *Refinements* of the *modern Opera*.—Again, as the Separation of the Poet's from the Muſician's Art produced an *improper Poetry*; ſo the Separation of the Muſician's from the Poet's Character was productive of improper and *unaffecting Muſic*: For the Compoſer, in his Turn, intent only on *ſhining*, commonly wanders into unmeaning Diviſion, and adopts either a delicate and refined, or a merely popular Muſic, to the Neglect of true muſical Expreſſion. Hence, too, the *Da Capo* had its natural Origin: A Practice which tends only to tire and diſguſt the Hearer, if he comes with an Intent of being *affected* by the *tragic Action*, or with any other View than that of *liſtening* to a *Song* [*t*].

[*s*] DACIER *Rem. ſur Ariſtote*, p. 85.

[*t*] The *Da Capo*, which is ſo ſtriking an Abſurdity in the more modern Operas, was not uſed in thoſe of older Date. Even COLONNA, who lived about the middle of the ſixteenth Century, employed it not; as appears by one of his Operas performed at the Academy in BOLOGNA, A. D. 1688. But in an Opera of *Old* SCARLATTI (intitled *La Theodora*) compoſed in 1693, the *Da Capo* is found, though not in all his Songs. After that Period, the Uſe of it ſeems to have become *general*: For in an Opera of GASPARINI (intitled *Il Tartaro nella China*) compoſed in 1715, the *Da Capo* is found in every Song.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, with Regard to the *Performance* of the *Opera*.—The theatrical Repreſentation is of a Piece with the Poetry and Muſic: For, having been regarded, from its firſt Riſe, more as an Affair of aſtoniſhing Shew than of affecting Reſemblance, it is gaudy, flaunting, and unnatural. The Singers (like the *Poet* and *Muſician*) being conſidered merely as Objects of Amuſement, no Wonder if their Ambition ſeldom reacheth higher than the Diſplay of an artificial Execution.—As a Conſequence of theſe Principles, the *Caſtrati* were introduced into all Sorts of Characters, in ſpite of Nature and Probability; and ſtill continue to repreſent Heroes and Stateſmen, Warriours and Women.—The flouriſhed Cloſe or Cadence aroſe naturally from the ſame Sources: From a total Neglect of the Subject and Expreſſion, and an Attention to the mere Circumſtance of Execution only.—The frequent *Encore*, or Demand of the repeated Performance of particular Songs was the natural Effect of the ſame Cauſes. No Audience demands the *Repetition* of a pathetic Speech in *Tragedy*, though performed in the fineſt Manner, becauſe their Attention is turned on the Subject of the Drama: Thus if the Audience were *warmed* by the *Subject* of an *Opera*, and *took Part* in the main *Action* of the Poem, the *Encore*, inſtead of being *deſireable*, would generally *diſguſt*: But the whole being conſidered as a mere *muſical Entertainment*, and the tragic *Action* commonly *forgot*, the artificial Performance of a *Song* became naturally a chief Object of Admiration, and the Repetition of it a chief *Object* of Requeſt.

Thus the whole Farrago of the *modern Opera* ſeems reſolved into its clear and evident Principles: And hence the *Subject*, the *Muſic*, the *Action*, the *Dreſs*, the *Execution*, *Decorations*, and *Machinery*, are ſuch a glaring Compound of trifling and abſurd *Improbabilities*, that the *tragic Influence* is *overlaid* and *loſt*; nor is it poſſible for any impartial and rational Spectator to take Part in the dramatic Action, or be *moved* by the *ill-feigned Diſtreſs*.

Let

Let not the Writer be thought to derogate from the Ability or Merit of all the *Poets*, *Muſicians*, and *Singers*, who devote their Labours to the *Opera*. He knows there are Exceptions in each of theſe Departments [*t*]. Neither let him be ſuppoſed to cenſure the *Opera*, as an Entertainment unworthy all Attention, conſidered as a mere Amuſement: On the contrary, whoever is inclined to hear a Succeſſion of *Symphonies* and *Songs*, ſet off with all the Decorations that can dazzle the Eye, and all the Refinement of Execution that can inchant the Ear, let him attend the *Opera*, and he will find his Taſte highly gratified. But this Inquiry aims at a far more important purpoſe: Its Intention is, to point out the Union, the *Powers* and *primary Ends* of *Poetry* and *Muſic*: And when the modern *Opera* is viewed in this Light, the Writer preſumes, its Defects are too conſpicuous to admit a Vindication.

'Tis ſaid, indeed, that the Weakneſs and Impropriety of this Entertainment is chiefly found in foreign Countries, where the *Italian* Poetry and Muſic are not *native*; but that in ITALY, its Power and Influence are conſiderable. This the ſenſible ROUSSEAU affirms in his Diſſertation on the *French* and *Italian* Muſic. But particular and well atteſted Facts are ſtubborn Things, and will not bend to general Affirmations: And of this Fact, the concurrent Teſtimony of all obſervant Travellers aſſures us; That in the *Italian* Theatre, the Seats of the chief Hearers reſemble ſo many ſeparate Apartments, where the Nobility ſit retired, converſing on indifferent Subjects, and regardleſs of the Progreſs of the Drama, till ſome celebrated Singer comes upon the Stage; and then, and then only, enſues a Burſt of *Rapture*, of *Bravo's*, *Encores*, and *Applauſe*. The Paſſion, therefore, thus expreſſed on this Occaſion, is evidently the Effect, not of a true *Feeling* of the *Subject* or tragic *Action*, which is entirely *diſregarded*, but (as in the later Periods of ancient ROME) of an *extragant Admiration* of the *Singer's Ability* and *Art*.

[*t*] Some of METASTASIO's and QUINAULT's Operas are fine Tragedies in three Acts.

3. The modern State of the *Anthem*, *Motet*, or *Hymn*, comes next under Conſideration.—With Reſpect to the ſacred Poetry that hath ever been uſed in the *Chriſtian Church*, it is various in different Countries. It appears that in ITALY, it hath been an allowed Cuſtom from the earlieſt Ages, to permit the Admiſſion of *Hymns* or *Motets* as a Part of divine Service. This Practice, in Courſe of Time, produced wild and incoherent Compoſitions: For the poetic Character being ſeparated from the muſical; the *Compoſers*, little ſkilled in the Art of Poetry, and yet conſidering themſelves as *Principals*, have often formed their Motets of Sentiments and Paſſions *inconſiſtent* with each other [*u*]. Another Separation here, too, enſued: I mean the total Separation of *Senſe* from *Sound*: For theſe Motets are generally compoſed in the *Latin* Tongue, and therefore *unintelligible* to the greateſt Part of thoſe who *hear* them.

As to the Church Muſic of ITALY and its once appendant Provinces, it hath aſſumed a Variety of Shapes, and in different Times hath undergone great Changes. In the ſecond Century, it appears that the pagan Melody was adopted, and allowed under certain Reſtrictions of Modeſty and Decorum [*w*]. It was afterwards eſtabliſhed at CONSTANTINOPLE by CONSTANTINE; then at ALEXANDRIA, by ATHANASIUS. This Eſtabliſhment was found to have bad Effects, through the effeminate Genius of the Muſic then in Vogue, and was therefore baniſhed from the Church of ALEXANDRIA. No wonder, if it was infected with the genius of the pagan Muſic of the Times, which we find to have been diſſolute and enervate [*x*]. From the general Prevalence of this debauched

[*u*] For an Inſtance of this Kind, take the following, which is one of CARISSIMI's moſt celebrated *Motets*: "Peccavi, Domine, & miſerere mei; te diligit Anima mea, "te ſemper quæſivit Cor meum; Ergo, mi Jeſu, mi Crea-"tor, mi Salvator, dimitte Culpas, parce Peccatis meis," &c.

[*w*] JUST. MART. *Quæſt.* 107. [*x*] See above, Sect. xi.

Taſte,

Taſte, AUGUSTINE was tempted to baniſh Muſic from the Church: But AMBROSE reformed the Office of the Church of MILAN; and eſtabliſhed a Melody auſtere in the Extreme: This was improved by GREGORY; whoſe Melody ſucceeded, and was eſtabliſhed in the following Century: And now, the Devaſtations of the Barbarians coming on, this *Plain Song* naturally lay hid unchanged in the Chriſtian Church, during the ſucceeding Ages of Ignorance and Cruelty.

On the faint Revival of Arts in the eleventh Century, the Appearance of GUIDO gave a new Genius to the Muſic of the *Roman* Church. For according to the natural Tendency of his Invention of the Art of *Counterpoint*, GASSENDI tells us that all the World now run mad after an artificial Variety of Parts. About four hundred Years after GUIDO, the debauched Art once more paſſed over into ITALY from GREECE: Certain *Greeks*, who eſcaped from the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, brought a refined and enervate ſpecies of Muſic to ROME: Where, meeting with a congenial Effeminacy, under the gay and diſſolute Pontificate of the Princes of the Houſe of MEDICI, it ran into ſuch an extreme of Indecorum, that *Pope* PIUS the *Fourth* formed a Reſolution to expel it from the Church. PALÆSTRINI had the Art and Addreſs to divert this impending Storm; by compoſing ſome Pieces of ſuch a majeſtic Gravity, as convinced the *Pope* that Muſic thus truly ſacred might be made ſubſervient to the nobleſt Purpoſes. This Severity of Compoſition ſtill remains in the *Pope's Chapel*; where, ever ſince the Reform laſt mentioned, even muſical Inſtruments are not admitted, for fear of creating new Abuſes. But the common Genius of their modern Church Muſic or Motets is altogether different: It is infected with the ſame Puerility of Stile with their Opera Airs: An unbounded Compaſs, extravagant Diviſions on ſingle Syllables, a Play upon particular Words to the Neglect of the general Tenor of the Song, from its general Character. How can it be otherwiſe? When the ſame Muſicians (and theſe ſeldom much intereſted in the Subject, or acquainted with the Language of their ſacred Poetry) generally compoſe both for the

Opera and the *Church*. Some noble Exceptions, however, may be found to this general Remark; Of theſe, CARISSIMI is one: But the moſt eminent Inſtance is in BENEDETTO MARCELLO a noble *Venetian*; many of whoſe Pſalms, if we conſider their Expreſſion either as ſublime, tender, graceful, or joyous, clearly excel the vocal Compoſitions of all his Countrymen, in Variety, Simplicity, and Truth [*y*].

With Reſpect to the *Performance* of their Church Muſic in ITALY, it hath naturally too much followed the Genius of the Art itſelf. They have no eſtabliſhed Choirs of Prieſts: The *Caſtrati* are the chief Singers in the Church: In ROME, theſe Performers go round the City in Bands, as they are accidentally hired; and bring no great Credit to the ſacred Muſic, either by their Characters or perſonal Appearance. The Truth is, Church Muſic, in ITALY, like that of the *Opera*, is conſidered more as a Matter of Amuſement than Devotion. Hence the Decorations and muſical Exhibitions of their *Churches*, in the Time of *Carnival*, approach towards thoſe of the *Theatre* at an *Opera*: And the general Attention is ſo far from being turned on ſacred Subjects, that it is chiefly exerciſed in *Debates* and *Quarrels* about the *Excellence* and *Superiority* of the performing *Caſtrati*.

Such then have been the *Separations* and *Progreſſions* of *ſacred Poetry* and *Muſic* in the *Mother* Country, from whence they have been chiefly derived and tranſmitted to the reſt of EUROPE. However, as they wear an Aſpect ſomewhat different in FRANCE and ENGLAND, it may be proper to point out the chief Variations, together with the Cauſes that have produced them.

In FRANCE the ſacred Poetry of their *Motets* or *Hymns* is, in its general Turn, much ſuperior to that of ITALY: For in FRANCE it is moſt commonly ſelected and borrowed if not tranſcribed, from the *ſacred Writings*. This inſures to it a conſiderable Degree of Propriety, Dignity, and Force.

[*y*] It muſt be obſerved, that MARCELLO's Compoſitions are not ſet to the *Latin Tranſlation*; but to an *Italian Paraphraſe* of the Pſalms.

How

How this came to paſs, we may learn from an Authority no leſs than that of the great COLBERT; who, in his political Teſtament, acknowledges this among other Obligations which the church of FRANCE hath owed to their Intercourſe with the *Proteſtants*, that it hath given them a more general and intimate Acquaintance with the holy Scriptures.---Their ſacred Muſic, though not poſſeſſed of that Grace which the beſt Italian may truly boaſt, yet it may be juſtly regarded as the beſt that FRANCE hath produced; becauſe it is ſet to a much better muſical Language than their own: For the *Latin* Tongue hath a Variety of Accent and Meaſure, which adapts itſelf happily to muſical Expreſſion; whereas the *French* Language is hoarſe, ill-accented, or of ambiguous Accent, void of Harmony and Variety and incurably diſcordant: But ſtill, the Compoſition of their *Motets* in the *Latin* Tongue is attended with the ſame abſurd Conſequence as in ITALY, that the People in general do not underſtand them.----In one Reſpect, however, their ſacred Muſic hath not departed from its proper Character ſo far as the modern *Italian*; I mean, in its Gravity of Stile: And this, it ſeems probable, hath been owing in Part to the eſtabliſhed Choirs in FRANCE, which are compoſed of regular *Eccleſiaſtics*, and therefore not ſo eaſily ſeduced to adopt a light and flaunting Species of Muſic, as the wandering Bands of *Italian Caſtrati*. Another concomitant Cauſe of this reſerved and ſober Muſic, may probably have been the Mixture of the Proteſtant Party in FRANCE: For theſe (according to the Genius of every new reformed Sect) adopted a grave and ſimple Melody: They were therefore a ſalutary Check upon the eſtabliſhed Church, tending to the Prevention of open and ſcandalous Abuſes.----Laſtly, with Regard to the Article of *Performance*, the *French* have greatly the Advantage in Point of Propriety and Decorum; for, as we have obſerved, their Choirs are compoſed of an eſtabliſhed Prieſthood, who attend to this peculiar Profeſſion; whoſe Characters are of higher Conſideration than thoſe of the *Italian* Bands; and whoſe Learning, as well as Religion and Manners, naturally lead them to a more reverent and devout Execution of their ſacred Office.

In ENGLAND the State of Things is in ſome Reſpects better, and in ſome Reſpects worſe than in FRANCE. Our ſacred Poetry, ſung in the *Cathedrals*, is tranſcribed ſtrictly from the *holy Scriptures*, and moſt commonly from the Book of Pſalms: Except only the *Te Deum*, which is one of the moſt ancient and approved Hymns of the Church. This Reſtriction, by which no Hymns of new Invention are admitted as a Part of divine Service, we owe to the grand Reformation: This opened to us the Fountain of the ſacred Writings, which had before been locked up, as in ITALY. From the ſame Cauſe, our *Anthems* are likewiſe given in our own Tongue; which though not ſo various as the *Latin*, is yet generally round and ſonorous, clearly accented, and capable of being adapted to a Variety of muſical Expreſſion. But while we juſtly admire the *ſacred Poetry* of our *Cathedral* Service, muſt we not lament the State of it in our *parochial* Churches, where the cold, the meagre, the diſguſting *Dulneſs* of STERNHOLD and his *Companions*, hath *quenched* all the *poetic Fire* and *devout Majeſty* of the *royal Pſalmiſt*.

The Character of our *Cathedral Muſic* is of a *middle* Kind: Not of the firſt Rank in the great Quality of *Expreſſion*; nor yet ſo improper or abſurd, as to deſerve a general Reprobation. Too ſtudious a Regard to *Fugues* and an artificial *Counterpoint* appears in the *old*, and too *airy* and *light* a Turn, to the Neglect of a grand Simplicity, in the *new*: Two Extremes which tend equally, though from oppoſite Cauſes, to deſtroy *muſical Expreſſion* [*y*] Yet, there are Paſſages in PURCEL's Anthems, which may fairly ſtand in Competition with thoſe of any Compoſer, of whatever Country. There are others who may juſtly claim a conſiderable Share of Praiſe. HANDEL ſtands eminent, in his Greatneſs and Sublimity of Style. — Our *parochial Muſic* in general, is ſolemn and devout: Much better calculated for the Performance of a whole Congregation, than if it were more broken and elaborate. In Country Churches, wherever a more artificial Kind

[*y*] For a full View of this Subject, ſee Mr. AVISON's *Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion*.

hath

hath been imprudently attempted, Confuſion and Diſſonance are the general Conſequence.

The *Performance* of our Cathedral Muſic is defective; We have no grand eſtabliſhed Choirs of Prieſts, as in FRANCE; whoſe Dignity of Character might in a proper Degree maintain That of the divine Service. This Duty is chiefly left to a Band of *Lay-Singers*, whoſe Rank and Education are not of Weight to preſerve their Profeſſion from Contempt. The Performance of our parochial Pſalms, though in the Villages it be often as mean and meagre as the Words that are ſung; yet in great Towns, where a good Organ is ſkilfully and devoutly employed by a ſenſible organiſt, the Union of this Inſtrument with the Voices of a well-inſtructed Congregation, forms one of the grandeſt Scenes of unaffected Piety that human Nature can afford. The Reverſe of this appears, when a Company of illiterate People form themſelves into a *Choir* diſtinct from the Congregation. Here Devotion is loſt, between the impotent *Vanity* of thoſe who *ſing*, and the ignorant *Wonder* of thoſe who *liſten*.

4. The *Oratorio* is a *dramatic Repreſentation* of ſome Story taken from the ſacred Scriptures, or the Records of the Church, accompanied with Muſic. Its Origin is attributed to the barbarous Periods of the *Croiſades*; when Companies of *Pilgrims*, returning from JERUSALEM, formed themſelves into *Choirs*, and ſung the Praiſes and Atchievements of Saints and Martyrs [z]. Thus it is ſaid to have ariſen and been eſtabliſhed in FRANCE. But how it could aſſume the form of *dramatic Repreſentation accompanied with Muſic*, is hard to ſay, without ſuppoſing it (like the *Opera*) to have been the Effect of an *Imitation*. On this principle we may trace it to a probable Origin. It is well known that the Pagan Shews were often exhibited in the Temples, or at the Tombs of deceaſed Heroes: it is no leſs certain, that the early Chriſtians adopted the Practice, with a due change of Objects, either from a mere Imitation of the Pagan Cuſtom, or with a View to the Converſion of the Idolaters. Nothing

[z] MENETRIER *des Repreſent. en Muſique.*

therefore, could be more natural, than that the muſical Accompanyment ſhould remain, though the Objects were changed. Of this Mode of Piety we have a clear Inſtance in a Diſcourſe of AUGUSTINE, who condemned the Practice; where, ſpeaking of CYPRIAN's Tomb, he ſays, "Not many Years ago, the Petulance of the Dancers had "invaded this ſacred Place, where the Martyr's Body is "laid: All Night long prophane Songs were ſung, and "were accompanied with theatrical Geſticulations [*a*]." Now ſuppoſing this Practice to have ſtill ſubſiſted in ſome remote or obſcure Part of ASIA or GREECE, it might naturally be adopted by Companies of devout Pilgrims, in their Peregrinations to the holy Land: And thus the ſacred muſical Drama would be *naturally produced.*

In ITALY the Origin of the *Oratorio* is ſaid to have been more recent, and clearly the Effect of an Imitation. We are told that the famous PHILIP DE NERY, a Native of FLORENCE, and Founder of the Congregation of the Prieſts of the *Oratory* in the Year 1540, obſerving the ſtrong Paſſions of the *Roman* People for *muſical Repreſentations*, invented the *ſacred Drama*, with a View to their Improvement in Piety. Hence it is ſaid to have received the Name of *Oratorio*, which it ſtill wears. The *Opera*, already eſtabliſhed at VENICE and ROME, was his Model: He had little more to do, than to change the Objects from *Pagan* to *Chriſtian*: And thus from ITALY it ſpread into other Parts of Europe [*b*].

The capital Impropriety and Defect of this Entertainment, while it wears the *dramatic* Form, is the perpetual Recitative or muſical Accompanyment in the interlocutory Parts, ſimilar to that of the *Opera*. This is a Circumſtance ſo repugnant to modern Manners, and therefore ſo far out of Nature, that no Audience can be much affected by the Repreſentation, or take Part in an Action ſo improbably feigned. The neceſſary Effect of This glaring Im-

[*a*] AUG. *Serm. in nat. Divi* CYPRIANI.

[*b*] BOURDELOT *Hiſt. de la Muſique*, tom. i. p. 256.

probability

probability is a general Inattention to the *Subject*, and a Regard centered chiefly on the *Muſic* and *Execution*.

Of this Species of *Poem* the *Italians* have ſome fine ones written by METASTASIO. They cannot perhaps be ranked in the firſt Claſs, either for Sublimity or Pathos. But Elegance of Style, Simplicity of Plan and Conduct, animated by a noble Spirit of Devotion, prevails throughout theſe Compoſitions. The *Muſic* of the *Oratorio* in ITALY too much reſembles That of the *Opera*: Simplicity, Majeſty, and devout Expreſſion, are ſacrificed to the Compoſers Vanity or ill-directed Art.

The *Performance* of this *ſacred Drama* in ITALY is ſaid to be attended with many of the ſame Circumſtances of Impropriety with that of the *Opera*, from which it had its Origin: All tending to render it rather a Subject of mere Amuſement, than of Piety and Virtue. Add to this, that being performed in the Churches, it may be queſtioned whether the Drama be dignified, or the Temple profaned, by ſo inadequate a Repreſentation.

In FRANCE, I do not find the *Oratorio* is now in Uſe; Its firſt rude Form produced *Comedy* and *Tragedy* in that Kingdom: But the Parent ſeems to have died at their Birth [*c*].

In ENGLAND, this *ſacred Drama* is in ſome Reſpects *well* in others, *ill* conducted. Next to the perpetual muſical Accompanyment, the leading Impropriety hath ariſen from an entire *Separation* of the *Poet*'s and *Muſician*'s *Office*. Even when the *Poet* remains *principal*, this Separation tends to bad Effects: But to compleat the Evil, the *Muſician*'s Character hath here, in many Inſtances, aſſumed the *Precedence*; and the *Poet* become *ſubſervient* to him, as his *Director*. How this came to paſs, may be eaſily explained. This Kind of Poem being unknown in ENGLAND when HANDEL arrrived; and that great Muſician being the firſt who introduced the *Oratorio*; it became a Matter of Neceſſity, that he ſhould *employ* ſome Writer in his Service. Now this being a Degradation, to which Men of Genius would not eaſily ſubmit, he was forced to

[*c*] BOILEAU, *Art. Poet.*

apply to *Verſifiers* inſtead of *Poets*. Thus the Poem was the Effect either of Hire or Favour, when it ought to have been the voluntary Emanation of Genius. Hence, moſt of the Poems he compoſed to, are ſuch, as would have ſunk and diſgraced any other Muſic than his own.

But although his exalted Genius bore itſelf up againſt this Weight of Dulneſs; yet ſuch a leading Defect could not fail to have eſſential Effects on the Muſician's Art. For although no Man ever poſſeſſed greater Powers of muſical Expreſſion; yet, when the Writer gave him ſometimes little, and ſometimes nothing to expreſs, the main Foundation of his Art failed him: He was in the Situation of a great Painter, who ſhould be deſtined to give Life by Colours to a dead and unmeaning Deſign [*d*]. Nay even where any Degree of poetical Expreſſion happened to give Play to his expreſſive Powers, yet ſtill, the general Compoſition being unconnected, weak, and unaffecting, there could be neither Contraſt nor Succeſſion of pathetic Songs and Choirs; which, when properly united in one great Subject, heighten each other by a continued Progreſſion, like the ſucceſſive Scenes of a *well-plan'd Tragedy*. Had HANDEL's Airs and Choirs been compoſed in this connected Manner, and the Probability of the Repreſen-

[*d*] The MESSIAH is an Exception to this general Remark: Though that grand muſical Entertainment is called an *Oratorio*, yet it is not *dramatic*; but properly a Collection of *Hymns* or *Anthems* drawn from the ſacred Scriptures: In ſtrict Propriety, therefore, it falls under another Claſs of Compoſition, which we have already conſidered.—The *Oratorio* of SAMSON is properly *dramatic*: But the Poem is ſo much changed in the Attempt towards accommodating it to Muſic, that it can hardly be regarded as the Work of MILTON.—The L'ALLEGRO and IL PENSEROSO are two elegant Poems; and are finely ſet to Muſic by HANDEL: But being merely *deſcriptive*, and in no Degree *pathetic*, they cannot be ranked among the higheſt Forms of Poetry; nor could they give Play to his higheſt Powers of Expreſſion.

tation.

tation in other Reſpects preſerved, their Effect had been proportionable. At preſent, being often disjoined, and deprived of that Connexion which ought to ariſe from the Poet's Art, they loſe all the Force which an Accumulation of Paſſion would have produced. They ſtand ſingle: While in a well-conducted Poem, the Effect of every *ſucceeding* Song or Choir would be heightened by the Power of the *preceding*.

But while we pay all due Regard to the Memory of this great Muſician, and acknowledge, nay maintain, that his Compoſitions often ariſe to the higeſt pitch of *Sublimity* and *Pathos*; critical Juſtice demands ſome farther Remarks on this Subject for the Sake of future Artiſts.—As a neceſſary Conſequence, therefore, of the *Separation* of the *Poet's* and *Muſician's* Province, and of his too great Attention to the *latter*; his Muſic is ſometimes improperly conducted, even where it is not influenced by the Defects of the Poem From this Separation, in which he only complied with the eſtabliſhed Practice of the Times, the following incidental Defects naturally aroſe. 1. Too much muſical Diviſion upon ſingle Syllables, to the Neglect of the Senſe and Meaning of the Song —— 2. A partial Imitation of incidental Words, inſtead of a proper Expreſſion of the ruling Sentiments; even when ſuch Words and Sentiments happen to be contrary to each other.——3. Solo Songs often too much lengthened, without the Intervention of the Choir, to inſpirit and ſuſtain them: Eſpecially the *Da Capo* is almoſt in every Inſtance of bad Effect, as it renders the firſt and capital Part of the Song *inſipid* by an *unmeaning Repetition*.—4. Choirs ſometimes too much lengthened, without the Intervention of ſingle Songs or Duets, for the neceſſary Repoſe of the Ear, which is apt to be fatigued and diſguſted by ſuch a long-continued and forcible Impreſſion.—5. Choirs ſometimes (though ſeldom) calculated more for the Diſplay of the Compoſer's Art, in the Conſtruction of *Fugues* and *Canons*, than for a natural Expreſſion of the Subject.—6. The *Choir* in *many* Inſtances (and the *ſingle Song*, in *ſome*) not *ſudden* enough in its Intervention; being generally *prepared* by a correſpondent Symphony of inſtrumental

inſtrumental Muſic; which creates Expectation and Preſentiment, deſtroys Surprize, and thus *leſſens* the *Impreſſion* and *Effect*.

Inſtances might be produced of all theſe Defects, in the Compoſitions of this great Maſter: But they aroſe not ſo much from Himſelf, as from the Period in which he lived. Therefore the Writer chuſeth to caſt them into Shades, referring them to the Obſervation and Regard of muſical Profeſſors rather than ſeem to fix a Mark of Diſreſpect on any particular Compoſition of a Man whoſe exalted Genius he reveres. And upon the whole, his *Airs*, *Duets*, and *Choirs*, as they ſurpaſs every thing yet produced, in Grandeur and Expreſſion: ſo, they will ever be the richeſt Fountain for *Imitation* or *Adoption*; and, even ſingly taken, will juſtly command the Regard and Admiration of all ſucceeding Ages.

The *Performance* of the *Oratorio* in ENGLAND, under its preſent defective State, in ſome Reſpects may be cenſured; in others, is to be approved. The Exhibition of the Choir and accompanying Band is not only decent, but grand and ſtriking: A becoming Gravity attends it, both among the Performers and the Audience. The Airs and Choirs are often ſung with a Decorum not unſuitable to the Dignity of the Occaſion. On the other Hand, there are Defects which naturally ariſe from the *Separation* of the *Performer's* from the *Poet's* and *Muſician's* Art.—The Singers are not always ſo animated in their Manner, as to create a Belief in the Audience (whenever a true poetic and muſical Expreſſion are united) that they feel the Sentiments they expreſs. If a grand Simplicity of Performance were ſtill more ſtudied, it would give an additional Luſtre to their Talents. Above all, the *flouriſhed Cloſe*, or *Cadence* is below the Dignity of the *ſacred Drama*, and abſolutely deſtructive of all true muſical Expreſſion.

Thus we have traced the *Riſe*, *Union*, *Power*, *Progreſſions*, *Separations*, and *Corruptions*, of *Poetry* and *Muſic*, together with the *Cauſes* of theſe ſeveral *Gradations*; from their firſt Appearance in the *ſavage* State, down to their preſent Forms in the more *poliſhed Nations* of EUROPE.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Of the poſſible Re-union of Poetry and Muſic.

IT remains now to conſider the Circumſtances in which, and the means by which, 'tis poſſible, that the Arts of Poetry and Muſic may again be powerfully and effectually united, after theſe Separations have taken Place.

The *Legiſlator's* and *Bard's* Character cannot again be *generally* and *fully united.* We have ſeen, they naturally ſeparated in an early period of Civilization: And the Departments become ſo diſtinct, as to create a general Incompatibility and Repugnance too clear to need an Illuſtration. But although the Legiſlator cannot generally maintain the poetic and muſical Character, he may ſtill continue to *protect*, and ſometimes even to *poſſeſs* it: And when Poetry and Muſic are united in their proper Ends, there are few *ſecondary Accompliſhments* which do truer Honour even to the higheſt Stations. It was indeed a ridiculous Vanity in a late *Emperor* to ſing in an Opera; as it was in LOUIS the Fourteenth to dance on a parallel Occaſion; becauſe, in theſe Inſtances, the Arts were ſeparated from their Important Ends. But it was a noble Example in CHARLEMAGNE, when he dignified his Choir, by joining them in the public Act of Religion, and ſinging divine Service in his imperial Robes. HENRY the Second, and FRANCIS the Firſt, of FRANCE; CHARLES the Great, of GERMANY; ALFRED the Great, of ENGLAND; were all diſtinguiſhed, not only by their *Love* and *Protection* of the muſical and poetic Arts, but by their *Proficiency* in them, as applied to their higheſt Ends.

And as the Legiſlator may ſtill incidentally retain a Part of the Poet's Dignity; ſo the Poet, though no longer a Legiſlator, may ſtill occaſionally exert his ſalutary Power, by his Influence on the Paſſions of the Soul. CHARLES the Ninth of FRANCE (who not only compoſed and performed Church Muſic, but writ elegant Verſes) addreſſed a little Poem to RONSARD, which does equal Honour to the

the *Prince* and the *Poet*. And as it ſo nobly aſſerts the Dignity of the muſical and poetic Arts, and points at their original Alliance with the legiſlative Character, the following Citation ſeems to claim a Place under this Article.

Ton Eſprit enflammé d'une celeſte Ardeur,
Ecclatte par ſoy—meme, & moy par ma Grandeur.—
Ta Lyre qui ravit par de ſi doux Accords
T' aſſervit les Eſprits, dont je n'ay que le Corps:
Elle t'en rend le Maitre, & te ſçait introduire,
Oú le plus fier Tyran ne peut avoir d Empire.

The *Poet's* and *Muſician's* Office cannot probably be again united in their full and general Power. For in their preſent refined State, either of their Arts ſeparately conſidered, is of ſuch *Extent*, that although they may incidentally meet in one Perſon, they cannot often be found together.— One Expedient there is, indeed, by which the two Arts may be practically united by the ſame Perſon. That is, if the *Poet* ſelect and adapt proper *Muſic* to his Poem; or the *Muſician* ſelect and adapt proper *Poetry* to his Muſic. Let us then conſider, which of theſe Methods is moſt likely to ſucceed, in uniting the two Arts *effectually*. Now, though we ſuppoſe the Muſician to be of ſufficient Ability to diſtinguiſh *good* Poetry from *bad*; we muſt farther obſerve, that to collect various Paſſages from various Poets, and form them into one *whole* with Propriety and Force, would be a Taſk difficult, if not impoſſible: For the Expreſſions of Poetry are *particular*, and unalterably *appropriated* to their Subject: They are therefore generally incapable of a ſecond Application. The Fact is quite otherwiſe in Muſic: For here, the Expreſſions are *general* and *vague:* it is the *Poetry* to which they are applied, which fixeth and gives them their *particular Expreſſion*. Therefore, a Selection of various Pieces may be made, and united in one *whole*, with Propriety and Effect. This Union is indeed ſometimes made in an unmeaning Way, in what the *Italians* call a *Paſticio:* Where we commonly ſee a Series of Songs thrown together, without

Connexion

Connexion or Deſign. But if we ſuppoſe a Poem properly conducted, and adapted to Muſic of the firſt Excellence, in Subſerviency to the Genius of the Poem; 'tis plain, that the Muſic ſo applied may acquire a Force of Expreſſion more powerful in the *ſecond* Application than in the *firſt*. As (to reſume a former Alluſion) the ſame Kind of *Colours* may acquire a ſtronger Effect, by being employed on a *forcible* than an *inſipid Drawing*. This is an *Union* far eaſier to *attempt*, than to *accompliſh*. However; thus much it ſeemed proper to remark, leſt every Endeavour of this Kind ſhould be regarded as a mere *Paſticio*.

The *Singer's* Profeſſion can ſeldom be united with that of the *Poet*, and not generally with that of the *Muſician*. The ſame Cauſe will maintain the Separation here, as in the poetic and muſical Profeſſions. The Arts, in their preſent refined and complicated State, ſeparately demand ſuch continued Application and various Qualities, as ſeldom meet in the ſame Perſon.—'Tis the Performer's Province, therefore, in this State of Separation, to conform to the Genius of the *Poem* and the *Muſic*. As the Muſician is ſubordinate to the Poet, ſo the Performer is ſubordinate to *Both*.

The *Epic* Poem cannot be again united with *Muſic*. The Reaſons may be collected from the preceding Parts of this Diſſertation. The long Narrations, the frequent Dialogue, the Mixture of calm Deſcription and unimpaſſioned Sentiment, all theſe are clearly incompatible with the muſical Alliance, unleſs where long-continued Cuſtom, and a Pre-Eſtabliſhment drawn from ſavage Manners, had produced and confirmed an Union. But this, once broken, can never be effectually reſtored: For it muſt ever want that Foundation of *Habit*, on which it firſt aroſe, and gained its Power [*d*].

The *Tragic* Poem can never again be powerfully united with Muſic. This repugnance ariſeth from the ſame Cauſe with the laſt. For here, the continued muſical Accompanyment, mixing itſelf with the dramatic Character and the perpetual Dialogue, forms a *whole* ſo in-

[*d*] See above, Sect vi. Art. 10.

compatible

compatible with modern Manners, and ſo far out of known Nature, as deſtroys that Probability which is the firſt Foundation of a true Pathos.

The *Ode*, or *hymnal* Species, may be again properly and forcibly united with *Muſic*. We have already ſeen the Foundation on which this Species is more univerſally allied with Melody than any other [*e*]. The great Mean of their powerful Union muſt be a pathetic and correſpondent Simplicity of Compoſition in Both.—With Reſpect to the pathetic Simplicity of the *Ode*; although the obſcure, the learned, the cold, the florid, the wordy, the amuſing Style, hath been too generally adopted by the Moderns; yet this falſe Manner is not ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, as to preclude all Poſſibility of a general Reform: For we find, that where the Poem is written in the ſimple, intelligible, and pathetic Form, it is more generally approved (except only by *mere Scholars* who are ignorant of Nature) than the oppoſite Manner of falſe Refinement. In Proof of this, we need only alledge the two noble Odes of POPE and DRYDEN; which the world in general underſtand, feel, and admire.

A *ſimple* and *pathetic Melody* may be no leſs ſucceſsfully adopted, and applied to Poetry. This is evident, from the incidental and frequent Practice of the greateſt Maſters. HANDEL, MARCELLO, BONONCINI, CORELLI, GEMINIANI, and their beſt Diſciples, are often admirable in the pathetic Simplicity of Song: More eſpecially they are ſo, when they are fortunate enough to forget the Oſtentation and Parade of Art. The Succeſs is anſwerable to their Deſert: For this Simplicity of Style is admired beyond the artificial, by *All*, except only a *Few*, whoſe Taſte (like that of the mere *Scholar-Tribe*) is debauched by their own falſe Refinements [*f*].

Yet

[*e*] Sect. vi. Art. 17.

[*f*] Here it may be proper to point out, on what Foundation a *ſimple Melody* is more *pathetic* than a *complex* and *artificial*. 1. In the Expreſſion of the Paſſions, Nature doth not offer muſical Sounds to the human Ear. For though the natural Tones of *Grief* and *Joy* (the two Paſſions

Yet there is one Circumſtance, in which modern Poetry and Muſic, though both reduced to their full Simplicity, cannot

ſions which are moſt effectually expreſſed by Muſic) approach nearer to muſical Preciſion than any other, yet ſtill they are in a certain Degree inconcinnous and unmuſical. 2. As the Tones of the Paſſions are in ſome Degree unmuſical, ſo are they generally more ſimple in their Compoſition or Succeſſion, than the Tones which are commonly employed to form a regular Melody. From the firſt of theſe Remarks it follows, that all muſical Expreſſion of the Paſſions muſt be *imperfect:* For the muſical Sounds not being found in Nature, if the Artiſt ſtrictly imitates the Sounds he hears, they will be unmuſical; if he varies from Nature, ſo as to make them muſical, the Imitation will be defective. Yet Imagination hath a Power of impoſing its impreſſions on Reaſon, in a certain Degree. This we find at the proper Repreſentation of a Tragedy; where, though the Scenery, the Perſons, the Dreſſes, the Compoſition, and other accompanying Objects, are not a preciſe Tranſcript from Nature, that is, though the Imitation be defective, yet ſtill it is highly affecting: But if the Repreſentation departs from Nature beyond a certain Degree, Reaſon then revolts, and the affecting Power is loſt: And thus muſical Imitation, though imperfect in a certain Degree, ſtill boaſts its Power: If imperfect *beyond* a certain Degree, its affecting Power is loſt. But as it follows from the ſecond Remark, that the farther muſical Sounds depart from *Simplicity*, the farther they depart from *Nature*; ſo, the Conſequence is clear, that a *ſimple Melody* (though an imperfect Imitation) may be *pathetic*; while a *complex* and *artificial* Melody) by departing from Nature beyond a certain Degree) will entirely *loſe* its *affecting Power*.

This naturally leads to the Conſideration of a myſterious Circumſtance, which lies yet unaccounted for, at the very Foundation of muſical Expreſſion. The Fact is this; that "muſical Sounds which are employed to expreſs

"Paſſions

cannot obtain that perfect Union which they held in ancient GREECE. The Numbers of the Poem and the Meaſure of the Muſic will inevitably ſometimes claſh. That Variety of Feet with which the Greek Tongue abounded, gave ſuch Play to the Muſician's Art, in adapting a *various* and *correſpondent Melody*, as no living Language can boaſt. For Want of this Variety of Feet, there is generally a *dead Uniformity* in the Structure of modern Verſe. The muſical Rythm or Meaſure, therefore, muſt either want the neceſſary *Variety*, or muſt *ſometimes* be at Variance with the poetic Numbers.

" Paſſions (as Grief or Joy) by an *imperfect Imitation*, are " often *more affecting* than the *natural* or *perfect Voice* " of theſe Paſſions, when given without muſical Intona- " tions."—It ſeems not eaſy to aſſign a clear and ſufficient Cauſe for this Appearance. Let the following Conjectures have what Weight they may.—1. Have not muſical Sounds a mechanical Power over the human Frame, by which they awaken it into a higher Degree of *Senſibility* and *Sympathy*, than it poſſeſſeth in its more *cool* and *torpid* State?—2. Are we not generally ſo conſtituted, as to ſympathize much more ſtrongly with thoſe in whom we find amiable Qualities, than their Oppoſites? And as Pity melts the Soul to Love, ſo doth not Love melt the Soul to Pity?—3. Doth not a *ſweet Voice*, like a *fine Countenance*, create a ſtrong *Prejudice* in *Favour* of its *Poſſeſſor*, and induce a *Belief* of *amiable* inherent *Qualities*?—4. May not the Voice and Figure of a diſtreſſed or joyous Object be ſo horrid or uncouth, ridiculous or ugly, as in a great Meaſure to leſſen, if not totally to deſtroy the Sympathy of thoſe who hear and ſee it?—If theſe Obſervations be true, then by carrying the Voices or Expreſſions of Grief or Joy into ſweeter Tones and higher Degrees of Melody than they poſſeſs in Nature, yet ſtill preſerving the Reſemblance ſo far as not to deſtroy Probability, may we not, on the Principles here given, create a higher Degree of Affection and Sympathy, than the natural Voice of the Paſſions can give?

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The Arts of Poetry and Muſic, thus properly united and improved, may poſſibly by Degrees be made a Part of *Education*, and applied to the Culture of the youthful Mind, in Subjects *religious*, *political*, and *moral*. This is a large Field of Obſervation, which at preſent it may be more prudent rather to *open* than to *tread*. In Favour of this Opinion, we may recollect the wonderful Powers of theſe united Arts, exhibited above, not only in the Scenes of ſavage Nature, but among the civilized Republics of ancient GREECE. And as we poſſeſs a nobler Syſtem of Religion, Polity, and Morals, than they could ever boaſt; ſo the Application of the ſiſter Arts to theſe, under a ſtrict Subordination to Truth, might ſeem to promiſe the nobleſt Conſequences in the Education of Youth. Yet on the other Hand, it muſt be owned, that under the preſent State of Manners, and the eſtabliſhed Forms of Education, this event is rather to be wiſhed than hoped for. Inſtead, therefore, of urging a Theory which might be regarded as viſionary and chimerical; the Writer will for the preſent content himſelf with pointing out, "In what Reſpects "the four principal Kinds, in which Poetry and Muſic are "now united, may be either improved in their Form, or "more effectually directed to their proper Ends."

1. The firſt of theſe, the common *Song* or *Canzonette*, may perhaps be judged an Object too inconſiderable for any ſerious Propoſal of a Reform. But the Writer will not be aſhamed to follow the Example of the greateſt Authors among the ancient *Greeks*, in recommending the early Practice of a proper domeſtic Muſic, as tending powerfully to ſooth the diſcordant Paſſions, to influence the Taſte, and fix the morals of Youth. If we reflect, how apt the youthful Ear is to catch muſical Impreſſions, and how open the Heart to every Impreſſion ſo forcibly convey'd, it cannot be regarded as a Matter of Indifference (among thoſe who underſtand the Force of early Habits) whether theſe firſt impreſſions be *properly* or *improperly* directed. It may ſeem a Paradox, though perhaps a certain Truth, that the future and leading Colour of the Paſſions, in both Sexes, hath often been determined by a *Song*. Poets and Muſicians, therefore, would do themſelves

ſelves the trueſt Honour, if they would religiouſly abſtain from lending the attractive Colours of their reſpective Arts to the Embelliſhment of Licentiouſneſs and Vice.

The Writer would not ſubject himſelf to ſuch an Imputation of Ignorance, as to ſuggeſt the Poſſibility of renewing the old *Grecian* Practice, when Men of the firſt Rank and Dignity diſdained not to grace the Feaſt with Songs *religious*, *political*, and *moral*; with the Celebration of *Gods*, *Heroes*, and *Virtues*: At the very Mention of this obſolete Practice, he ſees Ridicule pouring in from every Quarter. 'Tis enough to hope from the preſent *faſhionable* World, that they will *abſtain* from *Songs* of an *oppoſite Nature*.

As the practicable Utility of the common *Song* or *Canzonette* ſeems to lie chiefly among the younger ranks, an eaſy and familiar Simplicity of Style and Manner ſeems peculiarly its proper Character. To this ought to be added (where the Subject will admit) a certain Feſtivity and Brilliancy of Taſte; that the moſt attractive Colours of the Arts may be thrown on Virtue; and Benevolence, Generoſity, and Greatneſs of Soul, may habitually mix themſelves with domeſtic and ſocial Amuſement.

2. The *Anthem*, with Reſpect to its *Subject*, neither needs nor admits Improvement; being drawn from the ſacred Scriptures [*g*]. A proper *Selection* of Words for Muſic is indeed a Work of Importance here: And though in many Inſtances this be well made, yet it were to be wiſhed, that ſome ſuperior Judgment would *overſee*, and

[*g*] Although it be a prudent Reſerve in the Church of ENGLAND, to admit no other Poetry than the *ſacred*, into divine Service; yet ſtill, for the high Purpoſe of domeſtic or private Devotion and Practice, the Compoſition of *Hymns* would be a noble Addition to the Poetry and Muſic of a rational Society of Chriſtians. Here, the Poet would have Room for a Diſplay of that Genius, which the Prudence of the eſtabliſhed Church hath prevented, in the wiſe Regulation of her public Service. Of this Kind may be juſtly regarded that fine *Ode* of POPE, intitled, "*The dying Chriſtian to his Soul.*"

ſometimes

ſometimes *(negatively* at leaſt) *direct* the Compoſer, for the Prevention of *Improprieties.* A parallel remark will extend itſelf almoſt to the whole Book of Pſalms, as they are verſified by STERNHOLD, for the Uſe of parochial Churches. There are few Stanzas which do not preſent Expreſſions, to excite the Ridicule of ſome Part of every Congregation. This Verſion might well be aboliſhed, as it expoſeth one of the nobleſt Parts of divine Service to Contempt: Eſpecially as there is another Verſion already privileged, which though not excellent, is however *not intolerable.* – The *parochial Muſic* ſeems to need no Reform: Its Simplicity and Solemnity ſuit well its general Deſtination; and it is of Power, when properly performed, to raiſe Affections of the nobleſt Nature. It were to be wiſhed, that the *Cathedral Muſic* were always compoſed with a proportioned Sobriety and Reſerve. Here, as we have obſerved, the whole is apt to degenerate too much into an Affair of Art. A great and pathetic Simplicity of Style, kept ever in Subſerviency to the ſacred Poetry, ought to be aimed at, as the trueſt, and the only Praiſe. The ſame devout Simplicity of Manner may be attained in the Performance, and ought to be ſtudied by the Organiſt and *Choir:* Their Ambition ſhould lie in a natural and dignified Execution, not in a curious Diſplay of Art. The Maxim of AUGUSTINE was excellent, and deſerves the ſerious Attention both of thoſe who perform, and thoſe who hear: "I always think myſelf blameable, when I am "drawn to attend more to the *Singer* than to *what is* "*Sung.*" But an additional Circumſtance ſeems neceſſary, as the Means of bringing back Church Muſic to its original Dignity and Uſe: We have ſeen, in the Courſe of this Diſſertation, how the Separations follow each other in the Decline of the poetic and muſical Arts. And for the ſake of Truth, we muſt here obſerve, that in the Performance of Cathedral Muſic, a Separation hath long taken Place, fatal to its true Utility. The higher Ranks of the Church do not think themſelves concerned in the Performance. It were devoutly to be wiſhed, that the muſical Education were ſo general, as to enable the Clergy, of whatever Rank, to join the Choir in the Celebration of their Creator,

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in all its appointed Forms: The Laity would be naturally led to follow ſo powerful an Example.——There is Reaſon to believe, that this Separation was in Part occaſioned by the Introduction of an artificial Muſic, which became too difficult in the Execution for any but profeſſed Muſicians: Here, then, we find an additional Motive, for bringing down the Cathedral Muſic from its preſent complex and artificial Style, to that of Simplicity and eaſy Execution.

3. With Reſpect to the two dramatic Forms, the *Opera* and *Oratorio*, we have already pointed out their chief Defects, as they exiſt in their preſent State. But as to an effectual Reformation, ſuch as may produce their proper *Ends*, it ſeems utterly impracticable, while the *dramatic Form* and the *muſical Accompanyment* remain in *Union*. To hear Kings, Warriours, Stateſmen, Philoſophers, Patriarchs, Saints, and Martyrs, holding long Converſations with each other in muſical Recitative, is a Circumſtance ſo totally out of Nature, that the Imagination immediately revolts, and rejects the Repreſentation as abſurd and incredible. The *Recitative*, therefore, or perpetual muſical Accompanyment which prevails in both, being thus unalterably at Variance with the *dramatic Form*, the *one* or the *other* muſt be *deſtroyed* ere *Probability* and *Pathos* can ariſe.

One Method of a Reform may be effected, by deſtroying the *Recitative*, or perpetual *muſical* Accompanyment: And in this Caſe, the Interlocutory Part would ſink into the common Form of *Tragedy*. A *muſical Choir*, diſtinct from the Perſons of the Drama, might ſtill be introduced *occaſionally*, with much Propriety and Effect [*b*]. Above all,

[*b*] I ſay, *occaſionally*: For the *continuing* Choir of the old *Greek* Tragedy would be a Circumſtance as far out of Nature, as the Recitative itſelf. Beſides, the perpetual and continuing Choir would rob modern Tragedy of half her Powers and Graces: A ſtrict Unity of Place and Time, as we have ſeen, are its neceſſary Conſequences *: But with Reſpect to what is of far greater Importance,

* See above, Sect. vi. Art. 22.

all, the Occaſions muſt have a ſtrong Reference to the moſt pathetic Situations of the tragic action: The *Choir* muſt conſiſt of ſuch Characters, as may with *Probability* appear in the muſical Department: The Ode muſt be written in the Style of Paſſion; not with the Parade of unaffecting Imagery, or tedious Allegory; which, inſtead of rouzing an Audience, would lull them to Repoſe: The Muſic and Performance muſt be of a correſpondent Nature. In pointing out this Reform of the muſical Drama, the Writer may ſeem to ſeparate the two Siſter Arts, inſtead of uniting them: But in Reality, he only propoſes their Separation in one Circumſtance, as the neceſſary means of compleating their Union in another.

But leſt this ſhould ſeem to confine the muſical Art to an Alliance with the mere *Ode* or *Hymn* only, and to baniſh it entirely from the Repreſentation of *Actions*; let us now proceed to another and more perfect Kind of Re-

portance, I mean the *Action*, its Effects upon the whole were *bad*. 'Tis true, that even here, it had the natural Effect of producing *Unity*: But while it ſecured the *Unity* of the *Action*, it generally deſtroyed its *Force*. For there are few great, diſtreſsful, or terrible Actions, which do not require ſome *Variety* of *Place*, in Order to unfold them in all their moſt pathetic Situations and ſtriking Aſpects: Many of theſe, therefore, muſt be loſt to the Poet and his Audience, and a feeble and meagre Fable muſt generally ariſe from that ſtrict Unity of Place which the continuing Choir produced. Hence we often find the Greek Tragedians reduced to the Neceſſity of conveying by Narration many affecting Incidents, which would have formed capital Scenes, could they have been introduced conſiſtently with the Unity of Place. Were it neceſſary to inlarge on this Subject, which is not incurious, it might be proved by an Induction of particulars, that there is not a great and affecting Tragic Action in the whole Compaſs of Antiquity, but what is miſerably cramped and maimed by this Conſtraint; *That* of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* only excepted, which indeed ſeems nearly, if not abſolutely, perfect, in all the Parts of its Conſtruction.

form,

form, in which many of the *Subjects* of the *Opera* and *Oratorio* may be exhibited in *full Union* with the *Powers of Muſic*, joined with *Probability* and *Nature*.

We have ſeen above, that from an Union of the *Ode* and *Epic*, a firſt rude Outline of Tragedy naturally aroſe, compounded of *muſical Narration* and *choral Song* [*i*]. Here then let us fix, for the proper Form of the muſical Exhibition of great, terrible, or pathetic Actions. This Union forms what may properly be ſtyled the *Narrative* or *Epic Ode*. It aroſe from Nature, at a Period when the Actions repreſented were of the *ſimpleſt* Kind [*k*]. This Simplicity of Action is ſtill neceſſary to be preſerved, for the Perfection of this Species; becauſe a complicated Action would inevitably produce long and unanimated Narrations, would unnerve the muſical Recitation, and deſtroy the very Genius of the Poem. Suppoſing, then, the Action to be ſimple and impaſſioned; the *Poem*, the *Muſic*, and *Performance*, if well conducted, will be attended with ſuch a Degree of *Nature* and *Probability*, as will give the Alliance of Poetry and Muſic their higheſt Power and Pathos. The intermixed Narrations muſt be ſhort and animated: The Songs and Choirs various and expreſſive; and being frequently interrupted by the brief Recitals, may by theſe Means be inſpirited far beyond the ſimple and continued Ode, which from its unbroken Length often degenerates into Languor. By this Union, all the ſtriking Parts of the Action may be brought forth to View, while every thing that is cold, improbable, and unaffecting, may be veiled in Darkneſs.——The *Recitative*, or muſical Accompanyment in the *narrative* Parts, will *here* loſe a great Part of that Improbability which incumbers it in the *dramatic* Repreſentation: For *here*, the *Reciter* is a profeſſed Muſician, whoſe Province lies in the Enthuſiaſm of Song; and the *Narrations* being *ſhort* and *animated*, beyond what is poſſible in the continued Uſe of *Dialogue*, they approach nearer to the Genius of the *Ode*, and therefore may without Improbability or Impropriety receive a muſical Accompanyment which approaches

[*i*] See above, Sect. vi. Art. 19.
[*k*] See ibid.

nearer

nearer to a full and direct Song.—And laſtly, the *Songs* and *Choirs* are in their Performance ſo far from being unnatural, that they are no more than a powerful Tranſcript from Nature, impelling thoſe who hear the Recital of the Action, and are inſtructed in the Laws of Melody, to join in every repreſented Scene of Joy, Triumph, Terror, Exultation, Devotion, or Diſtreſs.

Of this *narrative or Epic Ode*, we have two fine Examples in our Language, written by POPE and DRYDEN. In Force of Paſſion, and Variety of Correſpondent Verſification, [*l*] they are admirable. The Songs and Choirs are by Turns tender, joyous, and majeſtic, and are often calculated for the nobleſt and moſt powerful Union of Poetry and Muſic. On the other Hand, while their unrivalled Excellence is admitted, critical Juſtice demands, that we point out ſome Blemiſhes in theſe two immortal Odes, leſt an undiſtinguiſhing Principle of Imitation ſhould lead to an Adoption of their Faults along with their Beauties.—With Reſpect to Mr. POPE's Ode on St. CECILIA's Day, the *Subject* ſeems to want *Unity*: It is not a Recital of *one* great Action, but rather a poetic Deſcription of the *Adventures* of ORPHEUS.—Mr. DRYDEN's Ode is perfect in the Unity of the Action; but *imperfect* in the *moral End*: For it is a Repreſentation of the abuſed Power of Muſic in firing a young Prince to an Act of Revenge and Cruelty. In the Execution, there is but one Error of Conſequence; which ſeems to run through both

[*l*] We have ſhewn above, that the Return of the *ſame Meaſure* in the *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*, of the ancient *Greek Ode*, was the natural Conſequence of its Union with the *Dance*. But this Union being irrecoverably loſt, the unvaried Meaſure of the Ode becomes at beſt an unmeaning Thing; and is indeed an abſurd one, as it deprives the Poet of that Variety of Meaſure, which often gives a great Energy to the Compoſition, by the incidental and ſudden Intervention of an *abrupt* or *lengthened* Verſification. The two Odes here mentioned, contain a Variety of fine Examples in this Kind of Beauty.

theſe Odes ſo juſtly celebrated: The *Narrative* Part is not always ſufficiently *diſtinguiſhed* from the *Song*. They run into each other in ſuch a Manner, that the muſical Compoſer muſt often find himſelf embaraſſed, whether to accompany with Recitative, or a more compleat Melody. Indeed, it is manifeſt, that theſe illuſtrious Poets were not aware of this Diſtinction: And hence it came to paſs, that many Paſſages which they evidently meant for *Song*, are in the Form of *Narration*. But let this be added, as a Juſtice due to theſe celebrated Names, that the Narrations are in ſome Parts ſo highly animated, that without any ſtriking Impropriety they admit the Accompanyment either of the Song or Choir. 'Tis obvious to remark, that HANDEL was ſometimes perplexed by this Irregularity of the poetic Compoſition, when he ſet DRYDEN's Ode to Muſic: For ſome Parts are thrown into Recitative which might ſeem rather to demand the Song; and others are thrown into Song, which, in their preſent Narrative Form, ſeem rather to demand the Recitative.—A Poet of inferior Rank [*m*] hath attempted to rectify this Diſorder in DRYDEN's *Ode*. But he had not ſufficiently eſtimated his own Strength, when he adventured to tamper with the Bow of ULYSSES. Whenever he hath attempted a *Change*, he hath quenched the poetic Fire.

The Subjects of the narrative or *Epic Ode* may be drawn with Propriety either from *ethnical* or *ſacred Story*. The *ethnical* will furniſh thoſe which are *moral* or *political*; the *ſacred* is a rich Field of Subjects *moral* and *religious*. There is a peculiar Propriety in exhibiting the ſacred Story in this Manner of the *Epic Ode*; becauſe in the dramatic Repreſentation of antique Subjects, through the great Diſſimilarity of ancient Manners to our own, 'tis difficult to avoid the Introduction of Circumſtances which will not be either manifeſtly *incongruous*, or *contemptible* to an *Eye* merely modern; two Appearances, which are carefully to be avoided in the Repreſentation of ſacred Story. The Way of Narration, therefore, is highly preferable; becauſe in this, the Poet can produce the greateſt and moſt

[*m*] Mr. HUGHES.

ſtriking

ſtriking Situations, and at the ſame Time preſerve both *Probability* and *Reſpect*, by throwing the reſt into Shades.

That this Repreſentation of ſacred Subjects is the higheſt and moſt intereſting Union of Poetry and Muſic, needs no elaborate Proof: It ſtands intimately connected with all the ſublime Truths, the great and affecting Events of our Religion, which, when thus exhibited by the united Powers of *Poem* and *Song*, call forth all the nobleſt Emotions of the human Soul; and exalt it to the higheſt Pitch of Elevation that our mortal Condition will admit.

SECT. XIV.

CONCLUSION.

THUS far then, at leaſt, the poetic and muſical Arts may admit an effectual Re-union; ſo as to produce their nobleſt Ends. As to any farther Conſequences, they muſt be the Effect of this firſt Reform: And therefore, till ſomething be done here, it can be of no importance to point out higher Improvements, which in the preſent State of Things would certainly be eſteemed chimerical.

Let us then, for the preſent, conclude with offering a Queſtion, "Whether our Age and Nation might not ſtill "farther diſtinguiſh itſelf in its Regard for the nobler "Arts, by the Inſtitution of *A Poetic and Muſical Academy*, "for the more effectal *Re-union* of theſe two Arts, and "their better Direction to their *higheſt Ends?*"—The Judgment of an able and diſintereſted Society, eſtabliſhed for this Purpoſe, might perhaps effect every Reform here propoſed in the four diſtinct Species, in which the two Arts are ſtill imperfectly and improperly united. The Prize muſt be Honour only; leſt mercenary Spirits ſhould intrude upon the Walk of Genius. It may be ſuppoſed, that the beſt Poets, of the riſing Age at leaſt, would court the Approbation of ſuch an Academy: And from this Inſtitution, as from a Nurſery of theſe Siſter-Arts, a Succeſſion of approved Poems would naturally ariſe, in every Form that could properly receive the Colourings and Embelliſhments of Muſic.—The familiar *Song*, com-

poſed for domeſtic and ſocial Entertainment, when thus chaſtiſed by the moral Decrees of the Academy, would gradually riſe into its ancient Dignity and Uſe.—The Selection of the *Anthem* from the ſacred Scriptures might receive the public Approbation of the Society: And the *Hymn*, controuled by the ſame ſober Judgments, would aſſume that pathetic Sublimity and Simplicity of Style, which tends to elevate the Soul to the Contemplation and Love of divine Things.—The *tragic Choir*, properly reſtrained and limited by ſuch an Authority, might *occaſionally* be introduced and applied to the Increaſe of Pity and Terror, and to all the moral Ends of the dramatic Species. The *Epic Ode*, directed by the Taſte and Wiſdom of this Academy, would obtain its Completion. The greateſt and moſt affecting Subjects, drawn from the Hiſtory of our own or other Countries, would riſe before us; while the Sublimeſt and moſt intereſting Events recorded in the ſacred Scriptures, thus recommended and adorned, would make their Way through the nobler Paſſions to the Heart.

The State and Character of our *Muſic* would be no leſs influenced by the Authority of ſuch an Inſtitution. The Poems which ſhould receive its unbiaſſed Approbation, would naturally become Objects of the Ambition of our beſt *Compoſers:* Whoſe Genius, thus chaſtiſed and directed to its proper Ends, would no longer wander into the illegitimate Fantaſies of Song; but in juſt Subordination to the poetic Expreſſions, would only be ambitious of joining its Powers, for the Production of a true *Pathos*.

The *Performance* of theſe approved *Poems* thus heightened by approved *Muſic*, would naturally correſpond with the Genius of Both, if under the Controul of the ſame wiſe Judgments. The *Singers* would no longer think themſelves at Liberty to deſert their Subject for the Pride of Execution: But, under the Inſpection of a ſuperior Taſte and Authority, would be led to adopt a true Simplicity of Manner; and, like the juſt *Actor*, would be only ambitious of aſſiſting the Poet and Muſician, in adorning and compleating the intended Repreſentation.

The

The *Importance* of ſuch an Inſtitution may deſerve our moſt ſerious thoughts. We have ſeen above, how congenial the *poetic* and *muſical* Arts are with the Frame and Faculties of Man: That in every Period of Manners, whether ſavage, barbarous, civilized, refined, or corrupted, their Influence hath been felt in every Nation of the Earth. So univerſal and powerful are their Effects on the Paſſions of the Soul, that perhaps no Period of human Nature can be aſſigned (at leaſt the Writer knows of none) in which they have not been either *ſalutary* or *pernicious*: In which they have not either tended to promote and confirm Religion, Virtue, and public Happineſs; or been the Inſtruments of Licentiouſneſs, and public Ruin.

Add to this, that whoever will look back into the preceding Pages, will find that in all *poliſhed States* theſe Arts have a natural Tendency towards *Corruption*, unleſs checked and chaſtiſed by wholeſome Inſtitutions. This Tendency ariſeth not from the Nature of the Arts themſelves; but from that *Period of Manners*, which tends to pervert them from their *proper Ends*.—Would you quench this natural Flame implanted in the human Breaſt? The Attempt were Folly. You muſt deſtroy our *Eyes* and *Ears*, thoſe Inlets to the Powers of *Poetry* and *Muſic*, before you can accompliſh ſuch a Purpoſe. What then is to be done, but to regulate this mighty Stream, which will inevitably run either in the Channel of *Vice* or *Virtue*?

More particularly, in a great and powerful Kingdom, where additional Degrees of Wealth ſhould flow in with every Tide; theſe, eſpecially in a Time of Peace, muſt inevitably be followed by new Degrees of inventive Luxury, and an unwearied Paſſion for Diſſipation and Amuſement. Hence the peculiar Danger would ariſe, even where no ill Intentions ſhould dwell, of a Perverſion of the *mimetic*, and eſpecially, of the *poetic* and *muſical Arts*, from their proper and exalted, to their improper and ignoble Ends.—If in ſuch a Kingdom, their loweſt Forms ſhould be ſought for, while the higher were neglected; if Tragedy ſhould give Way to Comedy, and Comedy to Farce, and

Farce to Pantomime; if Privileges ſhould be denied to the *Labours* of *Genius*, which were indulged to the Tricks of *Harlequin* and *Pierot*;—what could be more juſtly feared, than a general Decline of Taſte, which by ſilent and unperceived Degrees might inſenſibly ſlide into the ſame fatal Effects, which marked the later Periods of the *Greek* Republics, and the *Roman* Empire?

On the contrary; an effectual Union of theſe two powerful Arts, directed to their proper Ends, would be productive of the nobleſt Conſequences: It would renew and augment the Dignity of every elegant Accompliſhment; would refine the Taſte, inforce the Religion, purify the Morals, ſtrengthen the Policy, of the moſt proſperous Kingdom; in a Word, would give a proper and ſalutary Direction to that Overflow of Wealth, which muſt either *adorn* or *overwhelm* it.

An *Inſtitution*, therefore, which may promote ſuch *important Ends*, may ſeem not only to claim the Attention of the *Wiſe* and *Good* in every private Station; but might perhaps be regarded as not unworthy the *Protection* of the *beſt* and *greateſt* KING.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

The following Memoir, which was lately communicated to the Author by an honourable Gentleman, hath Reference to p. 128. *of the preceding Diſſertation: And though it was not received ſoon enough to be inſerted in its proper Place, yet the Author thought it but Juſtice to the curious Reader, to add it as an Appendix.*

" By the QUEEN.

" ELIZABETH, by the Grace of GOD, of England, " France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the " Faith, &c: To our truſty and right well beloved Sir " Richard Bulkely Knight, Sir Rees Griffith Kt. Ellis Price " Eſq; Dr. in civil Law, and one of our Council in the " Marcheſſe of Wales, William Moſtyn, Jeuen Lloyd of " Yale, John Saliſbury of Rhug, Rice Thomas, Maurice " Wynne, William Lewis, Pierce Moſtyn, Owen John " ap Howel Fichan, John William ap John, John Lewis " Owen. Morris Griffith, Symmd Thelwat, John Grif- " fith, Ellis ap William Lloyd, Robert Puleſton, Harri ap " Harri, William Glynn, and Rees Hughes Eſqs. and to " every of them Greeting."

" Whereas it is come to the Knowledge of the Lord " Preſident, and other our Council in our Marcheſſe of " Wales, that vagrant and idle Perſons naming themſelves " *Mynſtrels*, *Rythmers*, and *Bards*, are lately grown into " ſuch *intolerable Multitude* within the Principality of " North Wales, that not only Gentlemen and others by " their *ſhameleſs Diſorders* are oftentimes diſquieted in " their Habitations, but alſo the *expert Mynſtrels* and *Mu-* " *ſicians* in *Tongue* and *Cunynge* thereby much diſcou- " raged to travaile in the Exerciſe and Practiſe of their " Knowledg, and alſo not a little hindred (*of*) Livings and " Preferment; The Reformation whereof, and the put-

ting

" ting these People in Order, the said Lord President and " Council have thought very necessary: And knowing " you to be Men of both Wisdom and upright Dealing, " and also of Experience and good Knowledge in the " Scyence, have appointed and authorized You to be " Commissioners for that Purpose: And forasmuch as our " said Council, of late travailing in some Part of the said " Principality, had perfect Understanding by credible Re- " port, that the accustomed Place for the Execution of " the like Commission hath been heretofore at Cayroes in " our County of Flynt, and that William Mostyn Esq. " and his Ancestors have had the Gift and bestowing of " the *Sylver Harp* appertaining to the *Chief* of *that Fa-* " *culty*, and that a *Year's Warning* (at least) hath been " accustomed to be given of the *Assembly* and Execution " of the like Commission; Our said Council have there- " fore appointed the Execution of this Commission to be " at the said Town of Cayroes, the Monday next after " the Feast of the Blessed Trinity which shall be in the " Year of our Lord 1568. And therefore we require and " command You by the Authority of these Presents, not " only to cause *open Proclamation* to be made in all *Fairs*, " *Market-Towns*, and other *Places of Assembly* within " our Counties of Aglere, Carnarvon, Meryonydd, Den- " bigh and Flynt, that all and every Person and Persons " that intend to *maintain* their *Living* by name or Co- " lour of *Mynstrels*, *Rythmers*, or *Bards*, within the Ta- " laith of Aberffraw, comprehending the said five Shires, " shall be and appear before You the said Day and Place " to *shew* their *Learnings* accordingly: But also, that " You, twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, " fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, " eight, seven, or six of you, whereof You the said Sir " Richard Bulkely, Sir Rees Griffith, Ellis Price, and Wil- " liam Mostyn Esqs. or three or two of you, to be of the " Number; to repair to the said Place the Days aforesaid, " and calling to you such *expert Men* in the said *Faculty* " of the *Welsh Musick* as to You shall be thought con- " venient, to proceed to the Execution of the Premises, " and to admit such and so many, as by your Wisdoms

" and

" and Knowledges you ſhall find *worthy*, into and under " the *Degrees* heretofore (*in Uſe*) in ſemblable Sort to *uſe*, " *exerciſe*, and *follow* the *Sciences* and *Faculties* of their " *Profeſſions*, in ſuch decent Order as ſhall appertain to " each of their Degrees, and as your Diſcretions and Wiſ- " doms ſhall preſcribe unto them: Giving ſtreight Moni- " tion and Commandment in our Name and on our Behalf " to the reſt not worthy, that they return to ſome honeſt " Labour, and due Exerciſe, ſuch as they be moſt apt unto " for Maintenance of their Living, upon Pain to be taken " as ſturdy and idle Vagabonds, and to be uſed according " to the Laws and Statutes provided in that Behalf; let- " ting You with our ſaid Council look for Advertiſement, " by Certificate at your Hands, of your Doings in the " Execution of the ſaid Premiſes; foreſeeing in any wiſe, " that upon the ſaid Aſſembly the Peace and good Order " be obſerved and kept accordingly; aſcertaining you that " the ſaid William Moſtyn hath promiſed to ſee Furniture " and Things neceſſary provided for that Aſſembly, at " the Place aforeſaid.

" Given under our Signet at our City of Cheſter, the " twenty third of October in the ninth Year of our " Reign, 1567."

" Signed
" Her Highneſs's Counſail
" in the Marcheſſe of Wales.

" *N. B.* This Commiſſion was copy'd exactly from the " Original now at Moſtyn, A. D. 1693: Where the " *Silver Harp* alſo is."

From this Commiſſion it appears, 1st, That although many of the *Bards* were maſſacred by EDWARD the Firſt, yet the whole *Order* was by no means exterminated. 2dly, That in the Reign of ELIZABETH, Abuſes had crept on among the *Welſh Bards*, ſimilar to thoſe which are recorded of the *Iriſh*. 3dly, That public *Conteſts* for *poetic* and *muſical Fame* had been eſtabliſhed in *Wales* from

from ancient Times. 4thly, That theſe Conteſts are now ceaſed.

In Wotton's "Leges Wallicæ," (Append. p. 547, 548.) there are two Laws of Henry the Fourth recorded, which relate to the Prevention of the Abuſes of the Bard's Profeſſion; but in ſuch general Terms, that nothing relative to the particular State of their Muſic and Poetry can be collected from them.

The Author will eſteem it a ſingular Favour, if any Gentleman can tranſmit to him an authentic Account of the final Decline of the Bard's Profeſſion in Wales.

AN

AN

INSCRIPTION

Written at a favourite RETIREMENT,

in May 1758.

Finemque tueri,
Naturamque ſequi.

WHAT tho' nor glittering Turret riſe,
Nor Splendor gild theſe mild Retreats?
Yet NATURE *here*, in modeſt Guiſe
Diſplays her unambitious Sweets:

Along each gentle-ſwelling Lawn
She ſtrays, with ruſtic Garlands crown'd;
And wakes the Flow'rs at early Dawn,
To fling their boſom'd Fragrance round.

Here teach thy Vot'ry, blameleſs Guide,
To trace *thy* Step ſerene and free;
To ſhun the toilſome Heights of Pride,
Thro' theſe calm Scenes to *follow* THEE.

His ſilent Walk do *Thou* adorn,
O'er theſe green Slopes, from Tumult far;
Whether he greet the bluſhing Morn,
Or welcome up yon evening Star:

Intent,

Intent, while thro' theſe tufted Bow'rs
Thy generous Whiſpers charm his Ear,
To hail from Heav'n thy kindred Pow'rs,
And meet fair *Peace* and *Freedom* here.

Yet prompt to ſtay his Country's Fall,
The ſtormy City's War he'll join,
When *Thou*, and *Truth*, and *Freedom* call:
For *Freedom*'s Voice, and *Truth*'s, are thine.

THE END.

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